

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /  
VOLUME LXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

The first part of this volume collects six papyri of St. Matthew's Gospel. One of these is assigned to the late second century, two (one an additional fragment of **2683**) to the late second/early third; these join our earliest witnesses to the text. We are grateful to Professor J. D. Thomas for undertaking this section. Part II continues our publication of fragments of Greek Comedy: most notable here is Professor Handley's final and complete version of the substantial papyrus of Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, which is unique in allowing us to compare Menander's original and Plautus' adaptation. Part III publishes fragments of known Hellenistic poets, including a magnificent Aratus (**4423**): **4414**, **4417** and **4421** contribute usefully to the text and textual history of Apollonius Rhodius, **4430-2** to the history of the Corpus Bucolicorum and its commentators.

Most of the Apollonius Rhodius fragments and the bulk of the documents in Part IV were first edited by Dr. U. Wartenberg in her 1990 Oxford D.Phil. dissertation. The literary texts were revised for publication by Parsons, the documents by Rea and Coles. Among the documents **4435** contains legal pronouncements on the rights of minors and is an additional piece of **1020**. Dr. Rea has contributed the edition of **4436**, a challenging account which was reused later for the application **4438** on its other side. Finally, Dr. Coles contributes **4441**, a long fourth century account of building repairs and materials, of interest for the topography of Oxyrhynchus, which has links with pieces published by Grenfell and Hunt in the first volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and now in the British Library and in Trinity College, Dublin.

The indexes were compiled by Coles and Gonis.

We take the opportunity to acknowledge particular debts. The Leverhulme Foundation awarded Professor Thomas an Emeritus Fellowship, which enabled him to work on the biblical texts; various German foundations funded a year in Oxford for the visiting students (K. Bühler, R. Dilcher, A. Kolb, M. Richter, C. Selzer) whose work appears below. In **4401-6** we had the valuable assistance of the Rev. Dr. David Parker. In **4413**, **4418** and **4421** much preliminary work had been done by Professor Peter Kingston and Dr. W. E. H. Cockle; we are most grateful to them for allowing us to consult their transcripts.

As usual we are deeply indebted to the staff of The Charlesworth Group for solving with great skill and patience the many problems in the printing of our intractable material.

October, 1997

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
R. A. COLES  
General Editors

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PGMcCB = P.G.McC.Brown  
KB = K.Bühler  
RAC = R.A.Coles  
GBD'A = G.B.D'Alessio  
RD = R.Dilcher

NG = N.Gonis  
EWH = E.W.Handley  
MWH = M.W.Haslam  
RL = R.Luiselli  
MM = M.Machler

PJP = P.J.Parsons  
JRR = J.R.Rea  
MR = M.Richter  
JDT = J.D.Thomas  
UW = U.Wartenberg

#### LIST OF PLATES

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#### NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[ $a\beta\gamma$ ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ ) represents the symbol $\acute{\alpha}$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\pi\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
[[ $a\beta\gamma$ ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{a}\beta\gamma$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle a\beta\gamma \rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.<sup>10</sup>

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. NEW TESTAMENT

### 4401–4406. NEW TESTAMENT: MATTHEW

These six texts are all fragments of papyrus codices of the Gospel according to St Matthew. Although they are all small, and in some cases minute, they help to build up a picture of our knowledge of the early history of this Gospel, especially as no less than five of them are certainly not later than the first half of the fourth century. Hitherto 12 papyrus and 5 parchment codices of Matthew have commonly been assigned to the period up to 400; they are conveniently indicated in bold type in the lists in S. R. Llewelyn, *New documents illustrating early Christianity* VII (1994), 257–8. The 12 papyri are discussed by Barbara Aland in *The Four Gospels 1992* (= *Festschrift Frans Neirynck*), edd. F. Van Segbroeck *et al.*, I, 325–36. Five of these 12 papyri are, in my opinion, not later than the mid third century:  $\mathfrak{P}1$  (= I 2),  $\mathfrak{P}45$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}53$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}64+67$  (+  $\mathfrak{P}4?$ ) and  $\mathfrak{P}77$  (= XXXIV 2683).  $\mathfrak{P}64+67$  has indeed been alleged to be as early as the middle or late first century, see C. P. Thiede, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 13–20; this view, however, is certainly to be rejected; cf., e.g., K. Wachtel, *ZPE* 107 (1995) 73–80, P. M. Head, *Tyndale Bulletin* 46.2 (1995) 251–85 and T. C. Skeat, *New Test. Stud.* 43 (1997) 1–34. Of the papyri published here I consider that **4403**, **4404** and **4405** (an additional fragment of  $\mathfrak{P}77$ ) belong with the very early papyri of Matthew mentioned above.

To the papyri and parchments of Matthew listed in K. Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste<sup>2</sup>* (1994), should be added P. Col. inv. 571 = no. 1 in T. M. Teeter, *Ten Christian Papyri* (Diss. Columbia, 1989), a leaf from a parchment codex assigned to the 5th century, containing part of Matthew vi. A small additional fragment of the Matthew leaf of  $\mathfrak{P}45$  has been published by T. C. Skeat and B. C. McGing in *Hermathena* 150 (1991) 21. Cf. also the fifth–sixth century ostrakon containing Matthew i.19–20 published by P. J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 55 (1984) 145, and ‘Frammenti inediti del Vangelo secondo Matteo’, published by A. Passoni Dell’Acqua in *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 96–119 (7th/8th century; three parchment, one wood).

For a comprehensive discussion of the recent history of New Testament textual criticism see J. Neville Birdsall, *ANRW* II 26,1 (1992) 99–197. Specifically on the papyri see the articles by E. J. Epp in M. P. Horgan, P. J. Kobelski (edd.), *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer* (1989), 261–288, and in B. D. Ehrman, M. W. Holmes (edd.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. A Volume in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger* (Studies and Documents 46; 1995), 3–21.

References to Turner in the introductions to the texts are to E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977). All the texts have been collated against Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (1993), with occasional reference also to S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcott-Hortianum. Euangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford; 1940), and, for the Old Latin, to A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament*

in *allateinischer Überlieferung* I (1972 ed. revised by K. Aland). I have benefited greatly for help and advice on the collating from the Rev. Dr David Parker. Symbols used for citing manuscripts follow the practice of Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup>.

4401. MATTHEW III 10-12; III 16-IV 3

27 3B.41/C(1-3)b

4.7 × 8.6 cm

Third century

The papyrus is broken away on all four sides; the restorations at the left and right are therefore arbitrary. The lines on both sides contain between 18 and 22 letters, and the gap between ↓ and →, assuming a standard text, amounts to c. 400 letters, i.e. approximately 19 lines (in addition to the two lines partially preserved). This suggests that there were 32 or 33 lines per page, which would give a writing area of about 9 × 22 cm; together with margins, this would suit a codex of Turner's Group 8.

The hand is plain and competent, rather than elegant, with a complete absence of serifs. Some letters somewhat resemble the cursive forms, but there are no ligatures: each letter is made independently and with a clear space between it and the letters before and after. The writer did not attempt to achieve strict bilinearity. The bow of alpha is a sharply angled triangle; beta can rest on a broad base; the middle stroke of epsilon is prolonged; mu has a deep bow, whereas the bow in omega is flattened. There are tremata over initial upsilon, and the usual abbreviations for the *nomina sacra* πνεῦμα and υἱός (no doubt also for Ἰησοῦς and θεός, see lines 20 and 27); but οὐρανός is not abbreviated. No other lectional signs are preserved. The script is very similar to that of P. IFAO inv. 89 (Plates in *ZPE* 6 (1970) Tafel I (a), and 8 (1971) Tafel III) + P. Köln VII 282 (Plate Ia), a papyrus of Menander assigned to the third century. It is most probable that 4401 is also to be assigned to the third century.

None of these verses has previously appeared in a Greek papyrus, but verses iii 10-12 have previously appeared on papyrus in Coptic (P66). Since verses iii 9 and 15 are preserved in P67, it is worth stressing that the two papyrus fragments are in very different hands. 4401 has several readings which are textually interesting.

↓ δενδρ]ον [μη ποιουν iii 10  
[καρπον κ]αλον ε[κκοπτεται  
[ c. 5 ]ος πυρ βα[λλεται  
[ε]ω μ[εν υ]μας βα[πτιζω εν 11  
5 [υ]δατι ε[ις] μετα[νοιαν ο  
[δ]ε ερχο[μ]ενο[ς] ις ιχυροτε  
[ρ]ος μου ε[ς] τιν ο[υ]ν ουκ εμμ  
[ι]κανος τα υπο[δηματα] βα  
[τ]α[ς] αι αυτος υμ[α]ς βαπτισει

10 [ε]ν π̄νι αγιω κα[ι] πυρι ου το 12  
[π]τυον εν τη χ[ειρι] αυτου  
[κ]αι διακαθαρ[ε]ι την αλω  
[να] αυτου κ[αι]

→ ] . . [ c. 12 16

15 [ c. 5 ] ως περιτ[ε]ραν ερχο 17  
[μενον ε]π αυτο[ν και ιδου  
[φωνη εκ] τω[ν] ο[υ]ρα[ν]ων [λε  
[γουσα ο]υτ[ο]ς ε[ς] τιν ο ῡε μ[ου]  
[ο αγαπη]τος εν ω ηυδοκ[η]σα  
20 [τοτε ο ῡε αν]ηχθ[η] εις την [ερη 17  
[μον υπο το]υ π̄ν[ε] πειρασθ[η]  
[γαι υπο το]υ διαβολου κ[αι]  
[νηστευ]α[ς] μ̄ ημερας [και  
[μ̄ νυκτ]α[ς] ῡστερον επε[ι]να  
25 [σεν και π]ροσελθων ο πει[ρα  
[ζων ειπε]ν αυτω ει ῡε [ει του  
[θυ ειπε ινα οι] λιθοι ουτ[ο]ι

1-2 The traces of the feet of two letters surviving in line 1 are very slight and the reading of the first two letters preserved in line 2 is difficult. The only variant quoted is the omission of *καλον*. This is poorly attested: 1506 sy<sup>h</sup> Irenaeus (once); and in any case *καρπον* is not a possible reading in line 2. As the traces in line 1 are compatible with *ον* and the spacing is suitable, there is no good reason to doubt that the papyrus had the expected reading.

3 All MSS read *εκκοπτεται και εις πυρ βαλλεται*, which is impossible here: the letter before *πυρ* is indeed almost certainly a sigma, but the broken half of the letter before this is rounded, not straight as would be usual for iota. It might be part of an omega, but is more probably the right-hand side of omicron. It would be very easy to read *πρ*ος, and the spacing suits *και πρ*ος (for MSS *και εις*); but the variant would be unattested. The Lukan parallel (iii 9) is identical to the Matthew.

4 [ε]ω μ[εν]: so most MSS. **N** and 892 add *γαρ*, and some minuscules add *ον*.

ῡμας: a single dot from the trema over upsilon is clearly visible.

ῡμας βαπτιζω: so **N** B W and a few minuscules, supported by some Latin versions (ff<sup>1</sup> l vg); most MSS read *βαπτιζω υμας*.

6 [δ]ε ερχο[μ]ενο[ς]: the papyrus omitted *στικω μου* before *ερχομενος*, which is included in almost all MSS. The omission is attested in one MS of the Vulgate, two Old Latin MSS (a d), some Sahidic Coptic MSS, Cyprian (one MS) and Hilarius; the Palestinian Syriac (GPM) omits *ερχομενος* as well. This is the first proof of the omission of *στικω μου* in a Greek MS, but in view of its omission in d, it may well have been omitted also in D (the Greek column is lost).

8–9 βαερ]α[ε]α; this is the reading of all the MSS but the trace at the left is not easy to reconcile with alpha. It suits upsilon better, and it is perhaps just worth remarking that the parallel passage in Luke iii 16 has λυαα, and that in Mark i 7 has κυφας λυαα; of the two the second would better suit the space available, reading σπο[θήματα κυφας | λ]υ[ε]α.

10 καίι πυρι: omitted by E S V, sy<sup>h</sup>, Origen (one MS) and some minuscules.

14–15 There are a number of variants here and the traces in line 14 are so slight that we cannot be sure of the reading of the papyrus. Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> prints ειδεν [το] πνευμα [του] θεου καταβαινον ωσει περιστεραν. **N** and **B**, with the Bohairic and Irenaeus, read πνευμα θεου; other majuscules and the majority of minuscules read το πνευμα του θεου. Thereafter nearly all MSS have καταβαινον ωσει περιστεραν; D reads καταβαινοντα εκ του ουρανου ως περιστεραν. It is certain that **4401** had ως and not ωσει (attested only in D and 983); whether it also followed D 372 sy<sup>h</sup>, several Latin MSS and Hilarius in adding εκ του ουρανου (or equivalent) is uncertain. The foot of the first letter surviving in line 14 could well be part of omicron, and a possible reading would be ειδεν τ]ο η[ν]α του θη κατα[βαινον] ως.

15–16 ερχομενον: **N\*** B; similarly most Latin MSS and Ir<sup>hm</sup>. και ερχομενον: **N\*** C D L W 0233 f<sup>1,13</sup> 33 **W** fl vg<sup>s</sup> sy; Ir. The papyrus may have included και, but it would make the line rather long.

17 εκ] τω[ν] ο[υ]ρα[ν]ω[ν]: **4401** agrees with most MSS; it did not follow W and one lectionary (184) in reading του ουρανου (several Syriac MSS also have the singular, as do b and h of the Old Latin MSS).

17–18 λεγοντα: there is not room for προς αυτον after this which is added by D and supported by some versions (a b g<sup>1</sup> h sy<sup>4,7</sup>).

18 ο]υρ[ο]ς ε]κ]τ]ω[ν]: the fibres are almost completely stripped, but the reading can just be made to suit the traces. This is the reading of most MSS. D, supported by a sy<sup>4c</sup> and Irenaeus, has cu ei.

19 ηυδοκ]ησα: so **N\*** G L P W **Σ** and a few minuscules, lectionaries and quotations in the fathers. Most MSS read ευδοκησα.

20 Spacing guarantees that the papyrus did not omit ο τε with 983 1689 and one Georgian MS; it is possible that it omitted ο with B Δ 700 and a few other MSS.

20–22 εις την [ερημον υπο του] η[ν]α: the majority reading: B C D L W 0233 f<sup>1,13</sup> 33<sup>vid</sup> **W** latt sy<sup>h</sup> sa. In **N** K 892. 1424 *pe* sy<sup>4(c-p)</sup> the order is υπο του η[ν]α εις την ερημον.

υπο του η[ν]α *pe* περιεβ[η]ναι υπο του διαβολου: 713 reads περιεβ[η]ναι υπο του η[ν]α.

23–24 η̄ ημερας [και η̄ νυκτ]ω[ν]: on the use of figures for numerals in NT texts see E. G. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, 15, C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* (1979), 18–19.

The order τεσσαρακοντα ημερας is found in some Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Georgian versions, but is not attested in any Greek MS, all of which read ημερας τεσσαρακοντα (or τεσσαρακοντα). On the other hand **N** D and 892 agree with **4401** in reading τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας (similarly some Latin MSS), against νυκτας τεσσαρακοντα of B C L W 0233 f<sup>13</sup> 33 **W** sy<sup>h</sup> and most other MSS. sy<sup>4</sup>, f<sup>1</sup> and a few other minuscules omit the words and the και preceding.

25–26 η]ροσελθων ο̄ περι]ραζων ειπε]ν̄ αυτω̄: so **N** B W f<sup>1,13</sup> 33. 700. 892<sup>vid</sup> al aur fl<sup>1</sup> vg sy<sup>p</sup> mae bo. η]ροσελθων αυτω̄ ο̄ περι]ραζων ειπε]ν̄: C L 0233 **W** f (k) sy<sup>h</sup>, the majority reading. D reads η]ροσελθεν αυτω̄ ο̄ περι]ραζων και ειπε]ν̄ αυτω̄; similarly a b c g<sup>1</sup> h sy<sup>4c</sup> and perhaps the Sahidic.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4402. MATTHEW IV 11–12; 22–23

81 2B.85/58(c)

5 × 3.3 cm

Third/early fourth century

A tiny piece from the bottom corner of a page is all that survives. Assuming 27–28 letters per line and a normal text, some 33 lines will have been lost between the front and the back, giving a page of c. 35 lines. There is an appreciable margin of 1.5 cm at the foot. This suggests that the original leaf may have measured approximately 14 × 27 cm, which suits Turner's Group 8.

The hand is quite distinctive: alpha is sharply angled, the y-shaped upsilon descends

well below the line and curves back at the foot (there is similar curve on iota, kappa and rho), while omicron is small. There is a serif at the top left of sigma and the crossbar of epsilon is high; both letters are straightbacked. In some respects it is reminiscent of the so-called 'severe style', but the rounded omega does not suit this style (unfortunately no example of mu survives). It is not at all easy to date, but seems almost certainly to belong between the middle of the third century and the early years of the fourth. There is some similarity with P. Herm. 4 and 5 (= Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEP* Plate 2a, and *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> Plate 70, respectively) and with XXXI 2601 (Plate V), all datable to the first quarter of the 4th century; but the fact that it is upright rather than right-sloping may possibly point to an earlier date. Note the use of medial point in line 3 at a break in sense.

Matthew iv 23 occurs in VIII 1077, an amulet; cf. also BGU III 954. 11–12 and VIII 1151 25–7.

↓

a]φ[ι]γω αυτον iv 11

[ο διαβολος και ιδου] αγγελοι προς  
[ηλθον και διηκουσιν] αυτω̄ ακουσας 12

↓

5 τω̄ και περι]γγεν c. 14 letters? 22–23

5 διδασκων εν [

1 Only the bottom tip of a letter survives, but this would fit well for phi and the spacing is suitable.

4 τω̄: restore α]τω̄. There may have been a medial point after it (cf. line 3), but it is no longer visible. The papyrus is broken away at the left, but there is a blank before the first delta of διδασκων in the next line which suggests that nothing is lost before τω̄.

There are several variants and it is impossible to be sure what the papyrus read here, especially as there is no way of knowing whether the lines were of approximately the same length on both sides. Any of the following could have been the reading of **4402**:

περιηγεν ο̄ τε εν ολη τη γαλιλαια: C\* sy<sup>4p,h</sup> bo

περιηγεν ο̄ τε εν τη γαλιλαια: **N\***

περιηγεν ο̄ τε ολην την γαλιλαιαν: **N**<sup>1</sup> D f<sup>1</sup> 33. 892. 1424. 1844. 12211 *pe* lat; Eus; also 1077 (γαλιλαιαν)

περιηγεν εν ολη τη γαλιλαια ο̄ τε: C<sup>3</sup>

περιηγεν ολην την γαλιλαιαν ο̄ τε: W and the majority of minuscules

περιηγεν εν ολη τη γαλιλαια: B, supported by k sy<sup>4</sup> sa mae.

5 There is a horizontal bar to the top left of epsilon, but its purpose is obscure. After διδασκων **N\*** adds αυτοῡ. **1077** omits εν and the words following.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4403. MATTHEW XIII 55–56; XIV 3–5

100/21(c)

5.8 × 4 cm

Late second/early third century

A small piece from the top corner of a leaf, with generous margins of over 1 cm preserved at the top and more than 1.5 cm at each side. If we reckon approximately

26 letters per line, some 14–15 lines will have been lost between the two sides and the page will have contained 19–20 lines. This would give a page size of approximately 11 × 16 cm.

The hand is quite elegant, with noticeable hooks at the top of most hastas and occasional serifs elsewhere. It looks back to hands such as that of XIII 1622, of the first half of the second century (see W. Schubart, *Griech. Paläographie*, Abb. 80), but is no doubt slightly later, though not later than the early third. It is upright with noticeably straightbacked epsilons and sigmas; the mid-stroke of epsilon is high and prolonged. The bow of alpha is rounded and the upper branch of kappa flattened. Upsilon appears in more than one form: note especially its occurrence as a shallow bowl on top of a straight hasta (contrast *αυτου* in line 1 with the same word in lines 2 and 8), and with the second stroke widely spread out (as in some documentary hands), see especially line 4. *εθος* letters are oval and there is no great effort to keep the writing bilinear.

As a whole the hand is very similar to that of 4405=2683, so much so that the possibility must be envisaged that both are from the same codex. Letter forms are markedly similar, both texts using hooks and serifs at the same places. In 4405=2683 upsilon as a bowl on top of a hasta also occurs, but not the other form mentioned above (with the second stroke spread out); in addition in 4403 the letters appear very slightly smaller. Both punctuate by use of medial point and have a correction in a second hand (too little remains to say whether it could be the same hand in both). Although there are no itacisms in 4403, whereas there are several in 4405=2683, there is nowhere in 4403 where itacisms might have been expected. In addition the format of the page is closely similar in both texts. On the whole, it seems to me safest to treat the papyri as from two different codices, without excluding the possibility that they may be from the same codex. There is no doubt that both were written at much the same time.

These verses of Matthew have not hitherto occurred on papyrus.

→	] μητηρ αυτου λεγεται	xiii 55
	[μαριαμ και ο]ι αδελφοι αυτου ιακω	
	[βος και ιω]ης· και ciμων· και ιου	
	[δας και αι αδ]ελφαι αυτου· ουχι πασαι	56
	]. . .	
5	[ c. 11 ] ποθ[ε]ν ουν τουτω ταν	
	[τα . . . . . ] . . .	
	. . . . .	
↓	την γυναικα φιλιππου του αδελ	xiv 3
	φου αυτου· ελ[ε]γεν [γαρ ο ιωαννης	4
	ουκ εξεστιν σοι εκ[ειν] αυ	

10 την και θελων αυ[τον] αποκτειναι 5  
εφοβηθη τον οχλο[ν]

2–3 *ιακωβος*: the surface is damaged and it is impossible to say whether or not there was a trema over the iota (cf. line 3).

3 *ιωης*: the papyrus supports the reading of K L W Δ 0106 f<sup>13</sup> 565, 1241 *pm* k q<sup>c</sup> sa bo<sup>ms</sup>. A few minuscules, sy<sup>b</sup> and some Coptic (Bohairic) MSS read *ιωηρ*. N<sup>ms</sup> 64 D F and several minuscules read *ιωαννης*, supported by some MSS of the Vulgate and of Origen. N<sup>2</sup> B C N Θ f<sup>1</sup> 33, 700<sup>c</sup> 892 and a few other minuscules read *ιωηφς*; similarly most Latin MSS, sy<sup>a,c,hms</sup> mae bo<sup>ps</sup>, and some MSS of Origen.

5 What has been inserted over the line is unclear, but is no doubt a correction and is very probably by a second hand. It may be just possible to read ] *ειεν*, but probably a better reading is ] *ειν* followed by a medial point (*ημιν* cannot be read); both readings imply that *ειεν* was omitted and then later inserted. This creates a problem: nearly all MSS read, after *πασαι*, *προς ημας ειεν ποθεν*; the only variants attested are *ειεν προς ημας ποθεν* from 892, and *παρ ημιν ειεν ποθεν* in a few majuscules (N O Δ Σ 0119) and two minuscules (473 1474). This suggests that all we need to restore at the start of this line is *προς ημας*, which is some two to three letters too short. Dr Parker notes that Mark vi 3 has *και ουκ ειεν αι αδελφαι αυτου ωδε προς ημας* at this point; he wonders whether the copyist may have written *ωδε προς ημας* at the start of line 5, omitting *ειεν* which was then added over the line.

*ουν* is omitted by M and by some versions.

6 The traces on the frayed remains of the papyrus at the right are too indistinct to be assigned to specific letters.

7 D and several Latin MSS omit *φιλιππου*.

8 ο *ιωαννης*: the variants are the following:

*ιωαννης* αυτω: N<sup>2</sup>

αυτω *ιωαννης*: D

ο *ιωαννης*: 565 *bc*

*ιωαννης*: N<sup>\*</sup>

αυτω ο *ιωαννης*: C L W Θ 0106 f<sup>1,13</sup> 33 31—the majority reading

ο *ιωαννης* (*ιωανης* B) αυτω: B Z

Spacing guarantees that 4403 omitted *αυτω*, but it is unclear whether it also omitted ο.

9 There is a problem in this line as the supplement is too short. Two Old Latin MSS (f f<sup>1</sup>) read *uxorem fratris tui* for *αυτην*, and k and sy<sup>c</sup> add the equivalent of *γυναικα* after *αυτης*; but no suitable variants are attested.

11 *εφοβηθη*: so nearly all MSS; *εφοβεειτο*: 954, 1424 and a few versions.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4404. MATTHEW XXI 34–37; 43 AND 45 (†)

27 3B.38/N(1)a 7 × 5.2 cm Late second century

Although on one side (↓) only indecisive traces survive, enough is preserved to make it certain that, as we should expect, we have part of a leaf from a codex. The readings suggested for ↓ are exceedingly tentative and this must be borne in mind when this papyrus is used for purposes of textual criticism. These verses have not previously appeared on papyrus.

The hand is clearly 'early', i.e. before c. 250. It is very carefully written, with extensive use of serifs. It could well be considered an example of the 'decorated' style

or *Zierstil*, on which see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21, where it is stressed that this so-called style, often found in the Ptolemaic period, is attested as late as texts from the first few years of the third century AD (e.g. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, Plate 87). The bow of alpha is round with an occasional loop at the top; *epsilon* letters are broad; omega and mu are deeply curved; bilinearity is strictly observed. There are three instances of the use of a rough breathing (but it is not used over *alpha* in line 3). I should assign **4404** with some confidence to the second half of the second century, while not wishing to exclude altogether a slightly earlier or a slightly later date. It must certainly rank with the papyri mentioned in the general introduction above as one of the earliest surviving texts of Matthew.

The hand has a good deal of similarity with that used for **L 3523**, a codex of John's Gospel assigned without discussion to the second century (P<sup>90</sup>). The letter forms are very close, but in **3523** beta rests on a broad base (which is not the case in **4404**), and sigmas in **4404** are fully rounded, whereas those in **3523** have a more flattened top stroke. **4404** has a somewhat more elegant appearance overall and is most probably not part of the same MS as **3523**.

The lines are complete at the right. There is a blank above the top line which makes it probable that the top of the page survives. If the passage on side ↓ has been correctly identified, and if we assume c. 24 letters per line and a normal text, the original columns will have contained some 31 lines. When allowance has been made for margins, this suggests a page of approximately 14 × 25 cm, which fits well into Turner's Group 8.

→	]	δ[ο]υλου[ε] αυτου προς	xxi 34	
		[τους γεωργους] λαβειν τους καρ		
		[πους αυτου και] λαβοντες οι γεωρ	35	
		[γοι τους δου]λους αυτ[ου] ὄν μεν		
5		[εδειραν] ὄν δε απεκτειναν ὄν		
		[δε ελιθοβ]ολησαν παλιν απε	36	
		[στειλεν α]λλους δουλους πλειο		
		[νας των πρωτων και] εποησαν		
		[αυτοις ωσαντως υστερον δ]ε απε	37	
		· · · · ·		
		· · · · ·		
↓		Scanty traces of 4 lines		
14		]	δoθησετ[α]ι	43
		[εθνει ποιουν]τι τ[ο]υς καρ[που]ς		
16		[αυτης και ακου]σα[ν]τες ο[ι]	45	

Scanty traces of 1 line

· · · · ·

3 και λαβοντες: so most MSS; λαβοντες δε 1555 and the Sahidic.  
 6 The papyrus reads παλιν without addition, as do nearly all MSS. N\*, supported by sy<sup>p</sup>, reads και παλιν; D reads παλιν ουν; 579 reads παλιν δε (cf. uero in d).

8 Two Latin MSS (a c) omit the equivalent of των πρωτων.  
 10 ff. Although the fibres are not stripped, the ink on this side (↓) has almost entirely disappeared. In lines 10–13 and 17 only meagre traces remain, which cannot be assigned to any letter. In the other lines the only letter which is beyond all doubt is the epsilon in line 16, but kappa preceded by sigma or epsilon is almost certain in line 15. No text from the preceding verses in Matthew fits well with the slight traces remaining. But in the following verses there does seem to be one place which could fit without too much difficulty, namely xxi 43 and 45. This involves the assumption that the papyrus omitted verse 44, since the traces before and after the epsilon in line 16 do not permit the reading of the start of verse 44: και ο πεσων επι κτλ. The verse is omitted in D 33, several Latin MSS, sy<sup>p</sup>, Eus<sup>97r</sup>; and it seems almost certain that Origen used a manuscript which omitted the verse (teste Tischendorf). It is included by N B C L W Z (Θ) 0102, together with most other MSS and versions. The reading throughout, however, is very tentative indeed, thus making it hazardous to use this papyrus as evidence in support of the omission of the verse.

16 και ακου]σα[ν]τες ο[ι]: this, the majority reading (B C D W Θ 0102 f<sup>1.13</sup> B̄ lat sy<sup>p-h</sup> mae), fits the spacing and the traces of the last letter better than ακουσαντες δε οι, the reading supported by N L Z 33. 892 pc aur sy<sup>a-c</sup> sa bo.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4405. MATTHEW xxiii 30–34; 35–39

104/152(a)

8 × 8.2 cm

Late second/early third century

The text published below includes a new fragment of the page of the codex already published as XXXIV **2683** = P<sup>77</sup>. Only the complete text of the two fragments is given here. For a general description of the papyrus and full notes on the fragment published earlier the reader is referred to **2683**. The new fragment covers all or part of lines 9–15 and 25–32 of the text printed below. In the introduction to **2683** the papyrus was assigned to the later second century, which may very well be correct; however, a date in the early part of the third has also been suggested (see K. Aland, *Repertorium*, 313). Certainly there can be no doubt about the accuracy of the statement made in the introduction to **2683** that the papyrus 'belongs among the oldest New Testament texts'.

The size of the column in **2683** was estimated at c. 7 × 11 cm. When allowance is made for the addition of margins, this suggests a codex of c. 10 × 15 cm. The reconstructed layout is therefore close to that suggested for **4403**. On the possibility that **4403** is from the same codex as **4405** = **2683** see the introduction to **4403**. A codex of this size does not fit too well into any of Turner's groups; closest are Groups 10 and 11.

↓		· · · μ, [.] [· · ·]	c. 16	πα	xxiii 30
		τερων ημων [ουκ αν ημεθα κοινω			
		νοι αυτων εν τ[ω αιματι των προφη			
		των ὡστε μαρ[τυρειτε εαυτοις οτι			31

110 υιοι εστε των φ[ονευσαντων τους  
 5 προφητας· και υ[μεις πληρωσατε  
 το μετρον των [πατερων υμων  
 οφεις γεννημ[ατα εκιδνων πως  
 10 φνγητε απο τη[ε] κρι[ε]ως της γεεν  
 νης· δια τουτ[ο] ιδου εγω απος[τελλω  
 15 πρ[ος] υμας προ]φητας και σοφ[ου]ς  
 και [γραμματει]ς εξ αυτων αποκ[τε]ν  
 υ[μεις] και σταυρ[ω]σετε κα[ι] ε[ξ] αυ[των]  
 [μαστιγωσετε εν τ]αις [ε]ν[α]γα[γ]α[ι]ς  
 ]..[. . . ]..[. . . ]

→

βαρα]χιου· ὃν εφονευ  
 35 [σατε μεταξυ του] ναου και του θυσι  
 36 [αστηριου αμη]ν λεγω υμειν ηξει  
 20 [ταυτα παντα ε]πι την γενεαν ταυ  
 [την vacat ] vacat  
 [ιερουσαλημ ιερους]αλημ· η αποκτιν  
 25 [ννουσα τους προ]φητας και λιθοβο  
 [λουσα τους απεστ]αλμενους προς α[υ]τ  
 30 [τη]ν [πο]σακι[ε] η]θεληκα επεικυνα  
 [ξ]αι τα τεκνα σο[υ] ο]ν τροπον ορνιξ  
 [ε]πικυναγει τα ν[ο]ς[ε]ια αυ]της ὑπο  
 και [ ]  
 38 τας πτερυγας ου[κ] ηθελησατ]ε ιδο[υ]  
 39 αφεισεται υμιν ὃ [ ε. 8 ] . λε  
 [γω γ]αρ υ[μιν] ου μη [με ιδητε απ  
 [αρτι ε]ως [αν ει]πητε[ε] ευλογημενος  
 [ο ερχομενος εν ου]ματι

<sup>4</sup> ὠσπερ: above the first upstroke of ω, a short vertical with a short horizontal projecting to the left ... there is too much ink for a simple stop' (*ed.pr.*). This is correct, but the horizontal could have extended to

the right where there is now a hole in the papyrus; therefore, the simplest solution is to suppose that we have the remains of a rough breathing (cf. lines 17 and 29).

<sup>10</sup> εγω: in the *ed.pr.* it was considered more probable that the papyrus omitted εγω, but the new fragment proves that it included it. This is the reading of most MSS; εγω is omitted in D, a few minuscules, Vulgate (4 MSS), Georgian, Irenaeus *int.*, Lucifer, Origen once.

αποσ[τελλω]: so most MSS; the papyrus could have read αποσ[τελω] with D, a few minuscules, one lectionary (183) and Origen; similarly Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic).

<sup>11</sup> πρ[ος] υμας: omitted in D and one lectionary (184).

<sup>11-12</sup> και σοφ[ου]ς και: και<sup>1</sup> omitted by 892; και<sup>2</sup> omitted by L Φ and one Georgian MS; σοφους και omitted by X.

<sup>12-13</sup> The new fragment makes it necessary to change the reading proposed at this point in 2683. There the reading suggested was και [γραμματεις και εξ αυτων] | α[ποκτενετε], with the comment that the trace at the start of line 13 best suited alpha. This trace, however, is so slight that it does not prevent the reading nu, which is what is required by syllabic word division.

<sup>εξ αυτων</sup>: this is the reading of N B W Δ Θ 0102 f<sup>1,13</sup> 33. 565. I 844 al e q vg<sup>s</sup> sy<sup>h-p</sup>; I<sup>2</sup> p<sup>1</sup>. The majority reading (C D L, etc.), most minuscules, supported by most MSS of the Old Latin and the Vulgate, sy<sup>h</sup> bo, other versions, Origen and some MSS of Irenaeus) adds και before εξ.

<sup>13-14</sup> κα[ι] ε[ξ] αυ[των] μαστιγωσετε εν τ[αι]ς [ε]ν[α]γα[γ]α[ι]ς: omitted by D, one Old Latin MS (a) and Lucifer. Several other Latin MSS omit the equivalent of εξ αυτων.

<sup>15</sup> Only the tops of letters survive, none of which can be assigned with confidence to any specific letters.

<sup>25</sup> η]θεληκα: the second eta has been corrected, perhaps from ει. This seems unlikely to be a genuine variant for ηθεληκα, the reading of all the MSS. In the introduction to 2683 it is described as 'a simple mistake'.

<sup>25-26</sup> *Ed.pr.* read επεικυνα[γαγειν], commenting that this made line 26 a little long. In fact it is now certain that there is insufficient room to read [γαγειν] at the start of line 26. Almost all MSS of Matthew read επικυναγαγειν, but N\* before correction had επικυναγειν (cf. on επικυναγειν below). επεικυνα[γαγειν] is perhaps possible in 4405, but επεικυνα[ε]αι is an easier reading. This is the word used in the comparable passage in Luke (xiii 34; cf. *ed.pr.*), and according to Tischendorf quotations in Origen and Eusebius use επικυναξαι in the Matthew passage.

<sup>26</sup> ο]ν τροπον: ωσπερ 1473.

ορνιξ: all MSS have ορνις at this point, but in the parallel passage in Luke (xiii 34) N D W read ορνιξ; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar*, § 47.4.

<sup>26-27</sup> ορνιξ [ε]πικυναγει: this is the order supported by N B D (K) L Θ f<sup>1,13</sup> 33. 700. 892 *pc* lat; (Cl). The majority reading is επικυναγει ορνις: C W 0102, most minuscules, sy<sup>h-p</sup> and a few other versions.

<sup>27</sup> [ε]πικυναγει: K and one lectionary (183) read επικυναγαγει.

<sup>τα ν[ο]ς[ε]ια αυ]της</sup>: so N\* B<sup>1</sup> D W Δ 0102, a few minuscules and some MSS of Clement; spacing is against τα νοκια εαυτης, the reading of N<sup>2</sup> C L Θ and most minuscules. B\* and 700, with Georgian<sup>1</sup>, Irenaeus *int.*, Clement (some MSS) and Origen (once), omit (ε)αυτης.

<sup>υπο</sup>: επι 440 and 1689.

<sup>28</sup> πτερυγας: not πτερυγας αυτης with X Δ, a few minuscules, many versions and Clement. και has been inserted over the line in a second hand.

<sup>29</sup> υμων: omitted by several minuscules, sy<sup>h</sup>, Clement and Origen (once).

There is a problem in the rest of this line. Most MSS, versions and quotations read ο οικος υμων ερημος. ερημος is omitted in B L H<sup>2</sup> sy<sup>h</sup> sa bo<sup>p</sup>. Spacing in 4405 suits ο [οικος υμων]ν and is not sufficient for ο [οικος υμων ερημο]ς. However, as remarked in the *ed.pr.*, the trace before λε[ ] is much easier to reconcile with sigma than with nu. This suggests that 4405 did indeed include ερημος but that there was some error in the lacuna (e.g. either οικος or υμων may have been omitted).

<sup>30</sup> γ]αρ: so most MSS; a few minuscules read δε (similarly autem in a few Old Latin MSS).

<sup>υ[μιν]</sup>: so most MSS; D Θ and several minuscules add οτι, which some versions support.

Spacing supports the inclusion of με, which is omitted in X 565. 655 and one Bohairic MS.

<sup>30-31</sup> Spacing guarantees that the papyrus included απ αρτι; two Old Latin MSS (e<sup>1</sup>) omit the equivalent.

## 4406. MATTHEW xxvii 62–64; xxviii 2–5

85/26(d)

3.2 × 5.5 cm

Fifth/sixth century

The papyrus is written in a non-carbon ink which has faded badly. A piece of string is still attached, thus proving that the text was used as an amulet. These verses have not previously appeared on papyrus. All four sides are broken so that the assigning of restorations to particular lines is arbitrary. If we assume c. 26 letters per line and a standard text, there will have been approximately 25 lines to the page. Together with margins, this would suggest a page size of c. 12 × 22 cm, which suits Turner's Group 8.

There are a number of itacisms and a unique reading in line 3. The hand is carefully formed. *εθος* letters are broad; the script is strictly bilinear apart from rho and phi. It is similar to G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Plate 105, which he regards as transitional to the full-blown Alexandrian majuscule (see p. 116), and to P96, a Greek-Coptic papyrus of Matthew published by T. Orlandi, *Mitt.öst.Nat.Bibl.* 9 (1974) 49–51 with Plate VII; both these papyri are dated to the sixth century. A date in the sixth century seems appropriate also for 4406, but the fifth century can hardly be ruled out; it does not have the 'heavy' effect to be seen in papyri datable after the sixth century.

→	.	.	.	.	
	τ]ην παρ[α	κευην			xxvii 62
	[κυνηχθησαν ο]	ι αρχιερ[εις και οι			
	[φαρισαιοι προς] τον πει[λατον				
	[λεγοντες κ̄ε̄ εμ]νησθημ[εν οτι εκει			63	
5	[νος ο πλανος] ειπεν ετι [ζων μετα				
	[τρεις ημερας] εγειρομα[ι κελευσον			64	
	[ουν ασφαλισθ]ηναι τον [				
	.	.	.	.	
↓	.	.	.	.	
	επαν]ω αυτο[υ ην δε η ειδα				xxviii 2–3
	[αυτου ως αστρ]απη και τ[ο ενδυμα				
10	[αυτου λευκον] ως χειω[ν απο δε			4	
	[του φοβου αυτ]ου ειςθ[ησαν οι τη				
	[ρουντες και] εγενηθη[σαν ως νεκ				
	[ροι αποκριθεις] δε ο α[γγελος ειπεν			5	
	[ταις γυναιξιν μ]η φο[βεισθε				
	.	.	.	.	

3 The spelling *πειλατον* is very common in MSS, but there is no other evidence for the introduction of *τον* at this point; the reading is certain. For the use of the article with *Πιλάτος* Bauer-Aland, *Wörterbuch*<sup>6</sup>, s.v., refer to Winer-Schmiedel, § 18, 6d; cf., e.g., Mark xv 43, where the majority text reads *προς πιλατον* but several majuscules add *τον*.

4–5 *εκενος ο πλανος*: the papyrus provides no evidence for or against this order, which is that found in most MSS; C<sup>2</sup> E\* G Θ, plus several minuscules and lectionaries and supported by some versions, have *ο πλανος εκκενος*.

5 Spacing is against the inclusion of *οτι* before *μετα*, which is added by D, some minuscules and versions, and Origen (once). The papyrus did not read *ετι ζων ειπεν οτι μετα* with 517; nor did it omit *ετι ζων* with one MS of *sy<sup>p</sup>* and one MS of the Vulgate.

8 The MSS are divided between *ειδα* and *ιδα*. **Ν\*** omitted *ην δε η ειδα αυτου*.

10 A few Old Latin MSS omit the equivalent of *λευκον*, as do several MSS of the Vulgate, *sy<sup>a</sup>* and Augustine.

*ως*: so **Ν** B D K f<sup>1</sup> 892 *al*; A C L W Θ f<sup>13</sup> 33 **℣** read *ωσει*.

*χειω[ν]*: **Ν\*** 69 and one lectionary (47) have *η χιων*.

12 *εγενηθη[σαν]*: so **Ν** B C\* D L 33 l 844 (l 2211); *εγενοντο* is read by A C<sup>2</sup> W Θ and most majuscules and minuscules.

*ως*: the MSS are divided between *ως* and *ωσει*. It is impossible to say which stood in the papyrus, especially as *ωσει* could well have been written *ωσι*.

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πράττης for -ειε at iii. 28 and οἶαν for οἶα at iii. 36 have found favour; part-markings, or the lack of them, may be at fault at ii. 3, 41 f. and 50; but what indications there are (one speaks with caution, without any check from other primary sources) do not suggest anything but a sound line of transmission.

The possibility that more fragments of the same copy might be found among the material from Oxyrhynchus has not been realized, as it was in time with *Kolax* (III 409 + XXXIII 2655), with the unidentified play that now appears as LXII 4302 (PCG VIII. 1152) and perhaps also with *Leukadia* (see LX 4024). LXI 4093 (PCG VIII. 1149) is a scrap of a roll assigned to the later second or early third century, with remains of fifteen comic verses, and among them ΧΟΡΟΥ marking an act-ending (not that of Act I). Α μεράκιον, a desperate young man in love, after previous misadventures, has someone discussing with him the idea of diverting his father's gold to his girl; but this kinship of motif did not enable me, in commenting on the piece, to do more than explore the possibilities of its belonging to *Dis Exapaton*. Likewise related in motif, this time to the earlier part of the play as seen from *Bacchides*, is a set of fragments from a roll of the third century BC that is now most conveniently available as PCG VIII. 1147: R. Nünlist (quoted there) makes a case for recognizing *Dis Exapaton*, but, once again, it is a question of exploration rather than of offering proof.

In fact, apart from the present piece, the only certain accession to the text of the *Dis Exapaton* from papyri so far known is its first line, or part of that, namely πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μεράκιον[, quoted in the familiar way as preface to a plot-summary, which would have been welcome indeed if anything from it had survived: P. IFAO 337, from Oxyrhynchus, assigned to the second century AD = fr. 1 Sandbach, fr. 1 Arnott. The μεράκιον here must be the youth we meet in our fragment as Moschos, the Pistoclerus of *Bacchides*; the identity of the person addressing the μεράκιον, as in LXI 4093, mentioned above, is open to conjecture. A tenable, though not a certain ascription (included in that sense by Arnott as fr. 6) is PAnt III. 122 (= PCG VIII. 1101), which consists of two small scraps of a codex assigned to the third century AD, and containing, as its main feature of interest, the proper name Lydos in the vocative, a name which is common to *Bacchides* and the present fragment of *Dis Exapaton*, but is also known from elsewhere, as Kassel-Austin remark; and Arnott quotes Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 65 as evidence that it was in fact common in Greek comedy. The case would be stronger if the letters ], εὔροδοκ[ in line 13 (12 Arnott) could dependably be read as ]ὁ Κύρος δοκ[εῖ or something like that (the surface under the first two letters is partly stripped, as Dr Walter Cockle once pointed out to me); but the content in any case has proved to be so uninformative that one can only 'wait and see'.

Of the quoted fragments, apart from 111KT (= 4 Sandbach/Arnott) the celebrated source of Byron's 'Whom the gods love, die young', which was referred to above, one other quotation needs to be mentioned here. Fr 109KT (= 2 S/A) reads βουλευφώρωε | <τήν> ἡμετέραν <ὧ> Δημέα προκατέλαβεε | ὄραειν. Someone is addressing a man named Demaeas in flattering and strangely elevated language. If we were on surer ground, we

could guess which of the two fathers of unknown name in the present fragment was being addressed by whom; but Fulgentius, the quoting source, is far from above suspicion, even if one discounts an observation by T. B. L. Webster that the words correspond to Terence, *Adelphoe* 385 ff., and therefore should come from Menander's *Second Adelphoi*, in the absence of any demonstrable link with *Dis Exapaton/Bacchides*.

That item set aside, the cast-list for our purposes consists of the old man we call A, Philoxenus in Plautus, the father of Moschos/Pistoclerus; and in the same household, the paidagogos Lydos, whose name, as has been mentioned, Plautus retained. Old man B, as we shall call him, is Plautus' Nicobulus, the father of Sostratos/Mnesilochus; and in their household is the slave Syros/Chrysalus. It may however be, as Aristotle suggests in the *Poetics* (1455b), that summaries are better without names; and if so, the following preface to more detailed discussion may here be recalled from *MP* 6 f.

Some two years before the play begins, a young man of Athens has been commissioned by his father to collect a debt from an acquaintance in Ephesus. On his travels, he meets a girl and falls in love with her: he understands she is going to Athens, and writes home to a friend to ask him to find where she is. The friend finds her (this is near the start of our story) newly arrived there to live in a house of a certain character with her sister, who promptly adds him to the circle of her admirers. The second young man is blessed with a relatively lenient father and a highly conventional tutor, whose standards he feels he has outgrown. If the learned tutor is in some sense the Dr Bartolo of the piece, the Figaro or Scapin is a slave, who comes back from Ephesus with his young master, and promptly concocts a tall story to divert the expectant parent from his gold so that the young man can use it to secure the girl he wants and get her away from a rival. Our part of the plot turns on confusion between the sisters, the two Bacchises of Plautus' title. The tutor has followed his charge disapprovingly as he brings provisions from the market for a party—a 'welcome to Athens' party as one might say—he goes there, and sees him behaving with his new girl friend in such a way that he must (he feels) get the young man's father to come and break it up at once. They arrive, and when we come in the first young man has also appeared on the scene: he knows nothing about the sister; he assumes from what the tutor has to tell him that the friend and the girl have betrayed him together, and is put in the further difficulty of being asked to intervene, and save his friend from the entanglement. If in this play the main attraction lies in the sheer pattern of the love intrigue and the portrayal of the human types and situations that go with it, there is nevertheless a more serious interest in the contrast between the pairs of characters—girls, fathers and sons—and, up to a point, in the problems of education and human relationship which Menander exploited more fully in the *Second Adelphoi*, the play adapted by Terence.

The Greek text of lines 11–30 (that is, i. 50–ii. 18) and 91–112 (iii. 29–50) was set out in an edited version in *MP*, which gave a summary account of the rest of the content, or quoted briefly in translation. These lines, together with whatever else he considered solid enough to be of practical use, were incorporated by F. H. Sandbach in his Oxford Classical Text of 1972 (1990<sup>2</sup>), as already cited above: that is to say, he added 47–63 (ii. 35–51) and also 89–90 (iii. 27–8), from which I had given a quotation in *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) 17, n. 1. Sandbach had detailed knowledge of the original from inspection, from photographs and from my full transcripts as they then existed; in the OCT and in *Menander: a commentary* (1973), as well as earlier in seminar discussions at the Institute of Classical Studies and by personal communication, he proposed a number of new readings and interpretations. W. G. Arnott's Loeb edition, vol. 1 (1979), also

cited already, has the same extent of text from the present papyrus as Sandbach, and he was acquainted with the material in the same way from the time of its first presentation. The text that is newly published here, taking Sandbach and Arnott as base, consists therefore of two elements: (a) new readings in lines previously in circulation, for example 18, 22, 24 (ii. 6, 10, 12); and (b) 52 fragmentary lines or traces of lines, comprising 1-10 (=i. 40-49), 31-46 (=ii. 19-34), 64-88 (=iii. 2-26) and 113 (=iii. 51). These leftovers from the feast, it will be seen, add some details of interest, and may add more if other texts are found to overlap with them; but they have it in common that they are hard to present undeceptively without an apparatus of documentation and comment that must sometimes seem to take back with the left hand anything that it ventures to put forward with the right.<sup>2</sup>

The initial task of reassembling the fragments could not have been either contemplated or completed without many hours of care and skill expended by Dr Walter Cockle, whose name appears in this publication for other reasons as well. Several other colleagues in London and elsewhere suggested possible new readings and contributed interpretations, as well as contributing beneficially to the demolition of some of mine; Dr Revel Coles checked my transcript against the original, to reassuring and sometimes to productive effect, as in line 53 (ii. 41). No-one, of course, but myself is responsible for the use I have made of this help.

The publication of the *Dyskolos* of Menander from PBodmer IV in 1959 was to be followed within a decade by other important accessions to knowledge of the author, both from papyri and from works of art illustrating the plays. In this challenging situation the *Dis Exapaton* fragments played their part. The field was surveyed in *Ménandre*, a group of contrasting studies 'préparés et présidés par E. G. Turner', and published in 1970 as *Entretiens Hardt*, tome xvi: it includes an important paper on *Bacchides* by Cesare Questa. There was another colloquium held in Geneva some twenty years later, this time 'publié par Eric Handley et André Hurst', under the title *Relire Ménandre*, in the series *Recherches et Rencontres* 2 (1990), where (p. 180) some recent bibliographical surveys are quoted. Their listings can be usefully augmented from Erich Segal, 'Scholarship on Plautus 1965-1976' in *Classical World* 74 (1981) 353-433, from editions of *Bacchides* by Cesare Questa (Firenze, 1975<sup>2</sup>) and John Barsby (Warminster, 1986), as well as from Otto Zwierlein's very substantial study *Zur Kritik und Exegese des Plautus*, especially volumes I (1990) and IV (1992). Together with a contemporary and independent study by Silvia Rizzo,<sup>3</sup> Zwierlein's book can be cited here, *ἀντι πολλῶν δύο*, to represent one direction of scholarly advance, while the *Poetae Comici Graeci* of Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, with volume VI, Menander, in preparation, can (and will) represent another.

<sup>2</sup> The original plan to publish a full text with appropriate commentary as Supplement 22 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* proved in the event not to be practicable, in spite of (or perhaps because of) my being at the same time prospective author, Editor of Publications and Director.

<sup>3</sup> Da Chrysalò a Siro: per una ricostruzione del DIS EXAPATON di Menandro' in *Dicti Studiosus* [in honour of Scevola Mariotti] (Urbino, 1990), 9-48.

It will not be seen as a depreciation of all that has been achieved by later work in the field of New Comedy, both Greek and Latin, if the tribute paid near the beginning of *MP* to Eduard Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* of 1922 (with the revision as *Elementi plautini in Plauto* of 1960) is recalled here and now for the sake of all that it observed and all that it anticipated.

Col. i

40 . . . . . ] . . [ . . . . .  
 41 . . . . . ] . . [ ] ιδ[ . . . . .  
 42 . . . . . ] . . [ ] τρ[ . . . . .  
 43 . . . . . ] . . [ ] ρυ[ . . . . .  
 44 . . . . . ] τ . . [ ] υ[ . . . . . 5  
 45 . . . . . ] ν . . [ ] . . [ ] ανς . . . . . ] ε[ . . . . .  
 46 ] η . . [ ] . . . . . ] προίξε . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 47 . . . . . ] . . [ ] οει . . . . . ] δι . . . . . ] πα[ . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 48 . . . . . ] . . [ ] . . . . . ] τ' ε . . . . . ] ηςοικ[ . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 49 . . . . . ] . . [ ] φ . . . . . ] δρααρμωττειν . . . . . [ . . . . . 10  
 50 . . . . . ] υδ . . . . . ] κεινονε . . . . . ] καλ . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 51 . . . . . ] ν . . . . . ] υθετ . . . . . ] . . . . . ] γαν[ . . . . .

Col. i: ends of twelve lines with lower margin are numbered at the left by correspondence with cols ii and iii, and at the right by the continuous numbering in general use for reference to the text; below, as in 40/1, both numbers are given.

40/1 Perhaps ] λ[

41/2 Foot of diagonal and upright, as for γ or α, then traces of high horizontal: could be ] γτδ[ with nothing lost

42/3 Perhaps ] ετρ[ (C)ωετρ[ατ- ?], with nothing lost; so in 4 ] χρυ[ looks possible; in 5, with a vertical before the break, ] ττρ[ or ] τ[ο]ν

45/6 After ] αν, ω rather than εε, then ετ rather than ευ i.e. *Ὠόστρα*[τ]ε suits

46-9 = 7-10 The small scrap at the left has been joined where it was found adhering when the fragments were first examined for transcription; but if rightly so, it adds nothing but doubts. The horizontal fibres are stripped, except for a band of about 2 mm with a double dark strand that seems to match; experiment with other placings has not revealed one so suitable

46/7 . . . . . [ . . . . . ], lower part of forward-sloping upright. . . . . [ . . . . . ], second is an upright, otherwise only particles of ink. ξ, not τ, is verified by rh end of lower horizontal, then after ε indeterminate traces, followed by parts of a round letter; all unclear after that, with what looks like a sloping upright stroke of interlinear ink, as for a correction, at the end. κα[τ]α]προίξει, -εξθ(ε) or -εξθ(αι) can be considered (though if κ, one would expect to see more of it); προίξε is unexpected in the context ostensibly given by Plautus, nor is part of προικνέομαι easy to accommodate on any account. At the end, one could guess (no more) ἐμὸς or μου corrected from (ε)μοι

47/8 . . . . . [ . . . . . ], an upright, as for ποεῖν (foot of upright), ποεῖν or a compound of either, with nothing lost; next, a tall upright (? φ), then two traces perhaps from one letter (? η); then δι. (? δις; or rather δη); last but one, a forward-sloping vertical—all this too ambiguous to articulate

48/9 . . . . . [ . . . . . ], high sloping stroke, as r.h. upper part of ν, and τ' (rather than γ') lead one to conjecture κέ]λεῖ τ'; the joined fragment has compatible, though indecisive, traces of ink

49/10 . . . . . [ . . . . . ], low rising curve, possibly μ, and so perhaps μῆ [φ]όδρα; not, if the joined fragment fits, οὐδ [φ]όδρα

50/11 High ink after ] υδ may come from top of ε, diastole being abraded or lacking; last is a mere particle of ink, and could be from any letter

51/12 After τ, foot of letter, top and foot of vertical, then horizontal on line and trace of high ink following, as for δ'; after that trace of vertical and perhaps horizontal joining ν, for εραν]; but τρ' ἔν[ vel sim. is not ruled out

] αν, Ὠόστρα[τ]ε,

ἐκ τῆς οἰκ[ί]α]ς  
 c]φόδρ' ἀρμώττειν . [ 10  
 c]ὐδ' ἐκείνον ἐκκάλει  
 ]ν, νουθέτει δ' ἐναν[τί]ον,

11-17 corresponds to Plautus, *Bacchides* 494-499, here quoted from Quеста<sup>2</sup> (1975): 494 (PHILOXENUS=A) Mnesioche, hoc tecum oro ut illius animum atque ingenium regas:

The lines of *Bacchides* quoted under the Greek text here and later are those which seem to have the most direct relationship to *Dis Exapaton*. Zwierlein, in *Kritik* I at pp. 26-7, 32-3 and 54-5 illustrates his discussion with diagrams in which the two texts are set out in parallel.

(6) ... Sostratos ... (7) ... (?) [not get away with it] ... (9) ... [? tell him to come] out of the house ... (10) ... [?not] to be very fitting ... (11 f.) (A)... you call him out [...] and reason with him face-to-face;

6 It is not clear whether the vocative is addressed by Sostratos to himself, as at 23, or to him by one of the other two characters present, as by Lydos in 15. Mnesilochus speaks to himself aside at *Ba.* 489-91, though without using his name.

7 The presence of *καταπροίξεθ(αι)*, or some other part of the verb, would be congenial to the context, but is not palaeographically verifiable. In theory, either one of the others could ask Sostratos not to let his friend get away with his present behaviour, or Sostratos himself, aside, could be resolving that he/she/they will not get away with it. The latter possibility seems more likely. The father's relatively mild reaction, consistently with Plautus' portrayal of him earlier in the sequence, is given by 12 ff., notably by *νουθέτει δ' ἐναντίον | ἀδρόν τε κόσον*; Lydos' cruder attitude is summed up in 15-17, with *χρήσαι πικρῶς* and the following words, with their Plautine counterpart. Sostratos here could be expressing the content of the aside referred to on 5, which may be further reflected in the colour which Plautus gives to the soliloquy to follow, with his *ego faxo hui dicet naclam quam derideat* (506) and *numquam edepol uia me iridebit* (515). Some sign of Sostratos' anger and distress needs to be manifest, in order that Lydos, with a typical comic misinterpretation, can say whatever was Menander's equivalent of *uiden ut aegre patitur gnatum esse corruptum tuom*, and so on, as at 492 f.

9-10 Possibly κ]ελεῖ τ' ἐκ, κτλ.: 2nd sing. imperative is presumably the right interpretation if what survives of the word is rightly recognized. 'Call him out of the house' could theoretically represent a remark passed between the would-be lenient father and the pedagogue, in either direction, or an anticipation of what

looks like a similar command in 11, addressed (as it must be there) by the father to Sostratos. In either case, 10 seems to be saying that it would not be very fitting for father or pedagogue to go in and argue, ἀρμόττειν being negated, as at *Dysk.* 75 f., but possibly (see the notes to the transcript) by μή (or even οὐ μή) rather than οὐ. Plautus, who elsewhere makes the pedagogue strongly assert his sense of propriety, as at 487–8, has somewhat simplified the exchange at this point, and allows us, but does not enjoin us, to suppose that it is here the father who is being asked to intervene, and finds it more fitting that his son's young friend should do so than that he should do so himself—or indeed allow Lydos to join in (14 f.).

11–12 εἰ is not inevitable (e.g. ταχὶ) and is hard to defend from the analysis of 9 f. above without circularity; nor is ἐκκάλε[ε] verifiably to be read rather than (say) ἐκκαλέ[ε]ν with an imperative following in 12; ἐκκάλε[ε] καὶ διαλέγου, in a fragmentary context, *Mis.* 191. ἐναντίον (if rightly recognized) will be absolute 'to his face'; one cannot say how much more than νουθέτει Plautus had as the basis for his *illius animus et ingenium regas*.

## Col. ii

1	αυτοντεςωνορικιαν [ ]' ληνφ . . . [	
2	λυδεπροαγωμεν· ειδε[ ]καμεκαταλ. πο . . [	
3	προαγωμεν· ικαν. σο [ ] [ ] <sup>λυδ.</sup> . . . ωιςωστρα[ ]	15
4	χρησαιπικρωσ' ε'λαν' ε[ ] . εινον. ο [ ] . . . ρα[ ]	
5	παντασιαιχυνειγαρη[ ] . ασ' το [ ] . . . ιλ. υς [ ] <sup>απ. . . ας</sup>	
6	<sup>ε. ετφ</sup> ηδηετνωουτοσφρυν . [ ] [ ] . . . εηπλη . . [ ] . . [ ] . . [ ]	
7	τουτουκα. εξεις. ετ. [ ] [ ] . . . οηπ. οηρπασα[ ]	
8	αρνησεταμεν' ουκ [ ] [ ] δηλονε . . . μοι'	20
9	ιταμηγαρ' ειςμεσον . . [ ] π[ ] . . . εσοι. εσοι	
10	η' ξουσι' μητοιυνν' ον [ ] . [ ] . . . νηδια'	
11	κακηκακωστο. νυν' ε[3–4] . . [ ] . . . ωστρατε[ ]	
12	ιςωσπεισειδουλ. [3–4] . . . ραπ . . . . [ ]	
13	εγωμαλιετ' δ' ω [ ] 9 ± [ ] μπεισα . .	25
14	εχονταμηδ [ ] 13 ± [ ] ωπατρι	
15	. . . [ ] . . . σιονπ [ ] . . . αν [ ] 8 ± [ ] γαρπανυετα .	
16	. . . [ ] . . . οτ' αιςθητα [ ] 8 ± [ ] οιμιας	
17	. . . [ ] . . . εγουσα [ ] 9 ± [ ] ηδη [ ] . . . δει	
18	[ ] 8 ± [ ] κεινον [ ] 7 ± [ ] . . . [ ] . . . ι'	30
19	[ ] 9 ± [ ] σμηθεν [ ] . . . μ [ ] 10 ± [ ] ν [ ]	
20	[ ] 8 ± [ ] αμωδω [ ] . . [ ]	
21	[ ] 8 ± [ ] αντεπαν . . [ ] . . [ ]	
22	[ ] 8 ± [ ] υξαιτα [ ]	
23	[ ] 9 ± [ ] ιφασ [ ]	35
24	[ ] 10 ± [ ] μερων [ ]	
25	[ ] 10 ± [ ] νπε [ ]	

1	αὐτόν τε σώσον οἰκίαν θ' ἔλην φίλων.	
2	Λυδέ, προάγωμεν. (Λυ.) εἰ δὲ κἀμὲ καταλίποις—	
3	(A) προάγωμεν· ἱκανὸς ο[ῦ]τος. ΔΥ. αὐτῶν, Σώστρα[τε],	15
4	χρήσαι πικρώς, ἔλαν' ἔκεινον τῶ[ν] ἄκρα[τῆ]	
5	ἅπαντας αἰσχύνει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ[τ]ο φίλου.	
6	CΩ. ἦδη 'στὶν οὗτος φροῦδ[ο]ς· ἐν πληγῆι μιᾶ[ι]	
7	τούτου καθέξει. Σώστρα[τ]ον προήρπασας.	
8	ἀρνήσεται μὲν, οὐκ [ᾗ] δηλὸν ἐστὶ μοι—	20
9	ἰταμὴ γάρ—εἰς μέσον τρε π[ᾗ] ντες οἱ θεοὶ	
10	ἦξουσι· 'μὴ τοῖνυν δνα[ί] μην'· νῆ Δία·	
11	'κακὴ κακῶς τοῖνυν'—ἐ[πᾗ]ν ἀγ[ε] [ ] ὠστρατε·	
12	ἔως σε πείσει· 'δοῦλο[ς] ἦκ[ε] [ ] ε[ ] ἄ[ ] ρα πατρῶς'.	
13	ἐγὼ μάλισθ', ἦ δ' ὦ[ ] κενὸν συμπεισάτω,	25
14	ἔχοντα μηδ[έν]· πᾶν ἀποδώσω τ[ῶ] πατρὶ	
15	τὸ χ[ρ]υσίον· π[ᾗ] θαν[ε]υομέν]η γὰρ παύεται	
16	ἔταν] ποτ' αἰσθητα[ι], τὸ τῆς πα[ρ]οιμίας,	
17	νεκρῶ] λέγουσα [μῦθον· ἀλλ' ἦδη [με] δεῖ	
18	χωρεῖν ἐπ[ὶ] ἔκεινον[ι]. ἀλλ' ὀρώ γὰ]ρ τ[ουτο] γι	30
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

26	[ 11 ± ] . . . [	
27	[ 12 ± ] . ν[	
28	[ 12 ± ] κυ . [ ] . . . ε	40
29	[ 10 ± ] . αμ . [ ] μαντουμάτην:	
30	[ 11 ± ] . . . [ ] . κμενος	
31	[ 11 ± ] ]ε[ ]	
32	[ 11 ± ] ]ε[ ca. 7 ] φ[ 8 ± ] ]επυθόμη . :	
33	[ 11 ± ] . [ ca. 7 ] . [ 8 ± ] . ]αβω'	45
34	[ ] . [ 8 ± ] . ]πανταχο .	
35	[ ] ]ε[ 8 ± ] ]δωκενδεςοι	
36	[ ] . [ . . . ] . ντοκον	
37	[ 7 ± ] . [ ca. 11 ] . ]ειδον' μηδεεν	
38	[ 7 ± ] . θ[ ca. 10 ] α . ]εμεικρωξενω:	50
39	[ 6 ± ] ]τιτ[2-3]το[ 3-4 ] . ]φκο . ]ζωνδευροσοι	
40	[ 6 ± ] ]σατ[3+] ]σιο . [2+] . ]μεισπαιταχυ:	
41	[ 6 ± ] ]αρ[ ] ]μων[ ] ]μηπος . ]κεκνωλογ .	
42	[ 6 ± ] ]πα . [ ] ]ωρμη[ ] [ ] . ]δ'επε . ]ουλενς' ουδεις:	
43	[ 7 ± ] ]εο[ ] . ]μον[ ] . ]ετ[ ] . ]τοχ . ]υσιον:	55
44	[ 7 ± ] ]εο[ ] ]μον' . [ ] ]τοσεφυλατ . ]ελαβω .	
45	[ 6 ± ] ]β[ ] . ]νδιφ[ ] . ]ειπατερ: ]ρηστ . ]σφοδρ . ]ι	
46	εφ[ 5 ± ] ]σε[ ] . ]τιον . ]οσυροσεβουλετο:	
47	] . [ ]ε[ . . . ] ν' ]μ . ]τεμο . ]δ'ακο[ ] . . . ] ]λουθεικαιλαβε	
48	] . [ ]το[ ] . . . ]ιο . ] παιξ . ]ις: ]ακολ . ]υθεικαιλαβε:	60
49	ου[ ] . . . ]ακολουθω' . ]οσμ . ]νονκαλωστεμ . ]ι	
50	ω[ ] . . . ]κεχρησαι' . ]ρηνλαβειν' ]μαχομαι[ ] . ]ι . . .	
51	ε[ ] . . . ]δεπαντωντο . . . ]προυργιατερογ	754

σοτοπis

26			
27			
28			
29		τά]μαντου μάτην:	41
30		-]αμμένος	
31			
32		]επυθόμη:	
33		]λαβω .	45
34		] . ]πανταχοϋ	
35		~ ]δωκεν δε σοι	
36		]την τόκον	
37		] . ]ειδον . ]μηδε εν	
38		εγκ]άλει χρηστῶι ξένω	50
39		ή]κω κομίζων δευρό σοι	
40		[πάνθ' . (B) δ]ca τ[ὸ χρυ]σίον, [δὸ]θ' ὑμέις, παι, ταχύ.	
41	(CΩ.)	[λήψει π]αρ' [ή]μών· μὴ πρόσεχε κενὴ λόγων<ι>.	
42	<B>	[οὐδεις] παρῶρμη[ς, ο]ὔδ' ἐπεβούλευς'; <CΩ.> οὐδὲ εἰς.	
43	(B)	[οὐ πρὸς Θ]εὸ[τ]ιμον [κ]ατετέ[θ]η τὸ χρυσίον;	55
44	(CΩ.)	[οὐ πρὸς Θ]εὸ[τ]ιμον· αὐτὸς ἐφύλαττεν λαβών,	
45		τ[ὸ] τε πρὸς βί[ο]ν διφο[ρ]εῖ, πάτερ. (B) χρηστὸς σφόδρα·	
46		ἐφ[ρόντι]σέ τι. τί οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἐβούλετο;	
47	ζΩ.	ἐ[ατέ]ον· μετ' ἐμοῦ δ' ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ λαβέ	
48		τὸ [χρ]υσίον. (B) παίζεις. (CΩ.) ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ λαβέ.	60
49	(B)	οὐ[κοῦ]ν ἀκολουθῶ. δὸς μόνον, καλῶς τέ μοι	
50		ὡς [δεῖ] κέχρησαι· πρὶν λαβεῖν μάχομαι [τ]ί σοι;	
51		ἐμ[οῖ] δὲ πάντων τοῦτο προὔργιατερον.	[364]

σοτοπis

Col. ii: most probably 51 lines, by alignment with the reconstructed col. iii, and so numbered at the left; but since there is no demonstrable link of text or horizontal fibres between the pieces that make up the upper part of this column and those that make up the lower part, the presumed alignment might be a line or so wrong; this could be a matter of moment if a potential overlap with another text were to offer itself.

The damage is not limited to missing pieces and holes. At two places it can be seen that the surface, which is sometimes abraded, was already imperfect when the comedy was copied on the back of the document. At ii. 36–46, a narrow strip of vertical fibres was missing towards the right of the column, and the exposed horizontal fibres carry single letters or parts of them, as with δ in *δευρο* (ii. 39) and ε in *παι* (ii. 40); Dr Walter Cockle pointed out to me the same phenomenon in the Oxyrhynchus roll of Euripides, *Hyphistyle*, VI 852, fr. 64 col. ii. A larger vertical fault ran down the column from the top, appearing somewhat to the right of centre in ii. 1 ff., where it has been aggravated by later damage, then narrowing and swinging left with the run of the fibres to reappear at the foot in the form of damage and stripping along the break between the two fragments that join there, while the fragment which gives middles of lines in the middle part of the column is stripped in a corresponding place towards its right. Down to ii. 10, the fault is indicated by blank brackets ([ ]) in the transcript, and where the text is certain, one can see the scribe avoiding it; towards the foot, most of the corresponding weak spot evidently carried, or still carries, a normal quota of 2–3 letters; elsewhere, doubts about the incidence of the fault and the copyist's behaviour in relation to it add uncertainty to the reckoning of lacunae, where the space actually filled may have been a letter or two less than the space estimated. Two further examples of copyist's behaviour when faced with missing or defective strips of vertical fibres are in the fragment of Menander, *Misoumenos*, XXXIII 2657, fr. col. i, and the fragment of Apollonius, *Argonautica* ii, XXXIV 2697; both with plates; and see below on iii. 45 and 51

1/13 ν is represented by the foot of an upright, followed by another with trace of joining diagonal; then (read by JRR) θ', with the diastole, unusually large, on the far side of an apparently unwritten space (see the note above, and on 2/14 below); then ink taken as part of ο, to make *δλην*. My original reading (in *MP*) was φδλην, requiring the θ to be taken (dubiously) as the remains of a cancelled letter; for the rest, φ is followed by a trace of a vertical, and then part of a down-sloping diagonal: φδλην can easily be guessed, but not verified  
2/14 πρρ, fibres displaced; κ, well represented by diverging diagonals, follows δε with a gap of (say) two broad letters

3/15 *ικαν*, c has ο as a minute particle of ink in abrasion, looking like a complete ο in photographs; but any other letter would most likely have left more ink. *αυτοι* is probably so to be read, the presumed υ with a flattened top being an oddity; but note *αιχωνει*, 5, and *λ'εγουρα*, 17; EGT once considered *δπρου*, in which πτ would be acceptable, but hardly ου; nor is the interpretation of *αδτφ* (if that is what it is) agreed

5/17 Between ] λ, υ[ and ] απ-, two letters' space; the letters read as ας are displaced downwards, but allow the word *δπαγτας* to be recognized as a marginal correction for the *παντας* with which the copyist began the line

6/18 The line under the marginal speaker's name is not present at iii. 2 (abrasion), iii. 29 or iii. 42. *επληη*, with two uprights for η on twisted fibres, then foot of an upright; next, a low particle of ink, indeterminate; ] . [ , two traces of high ink, perhaps from the same letter, then an upright, and last, two indeterminate particles. Given *επληηκ-*, *επληηγ-* as likely, one can conjecture *εμπληηκ-* (*εμπληη* [κτος *εχει*, tentatively, Arnott]) or—as I now suggest—*εν πληηη*: *μειδ[i]*, which, although not verified by the traces of letters, is, I believe, consistent with them

7/19 Uncertainty about the end of 6 leaves articulation and meaning of the beginning of the line unclear: *τουτου/τουδ' ουδ*, and *καθεξει* active or middle, not to consider *καθεξει(ς)* as a further option, with Sandbach

9/21 After *μεσον*, upright, then rh tip of horizontal; *τε* rather than *γε*  
10/22 After *τουου*, high ink, which I now take as a high point (by error from *τουουν* below?), not as a trace of a letter. Between [ . ] and *ηηδία* (as in *MP*, after T. B. L. Webster, there is high ink, then two uprights, apparently joined, then a trace of a third letter, perhaps part of a down-sloping diagonal; on twisted fibres, below the presumed ] π[ of 9, traces of a triangular letter which may be α: whence ον [ α[i] ] μην

11–13 = 23–4 Reckoning the number of letters lost in the gap is to some extent conjectural because of the unknown incidence of blank papyrus at mid-line, and a slight warp to the left at line-ending. The reckoning and the possibilities for restoration can be tested against the preceding lines, which are not quite so badly affected, and also against the following, where there is help from the echo of the passage in the next Act on 91 ff. and from the recognizable convergence of Plautus' adaptation

11/23 In the gap after mid-line, downward-sloping diagonal followed by upright, taken originally (*MP*)

as *ων* in *ε[π]α[γ]αγε*, *Clωcτ[α]ρε*], but better, I now think, as *αγ*: i.e. *ε[π]α[γ]αγε*. There is a trace of ink on twisted and displaced fibres below the presumed ] α[ of 10; if it contributes to this line as part of the ] α[ or of the letter (π?) before that, its contribution is too unclear to count

12/24 c omitted by haplography and duly restored; punctuation may be lost after *πεισει*; at ] . [ , high curving ink, as top of ε or c; at the end, the word *παρρς* is suitable, no more, with credible remains for π, of a horizontal for τ and a curve for ο, otherwise only particles

13/25 τ is represented by top and foot of upright and right side of horizontal; after diastole, trace of upright from a letter broken away, then high ink taken as breathing: i.e. -τ' η

14/26 A crack after ] ω, but hardly ω[i]

15–33 = 27–45 The placing of the fragment which gives letters from the middles of these lines is consistent with its physical character on both sides, but in the tattered and stripped state of the parts put in contact, confirmation must be found in the conformity in alignment and style of writing of the comic verses and from the words which result in three successive lines from the join as made

16/28 ] . , end of high horizontal and trace of foot, ] π, rather than ] γ or ] τ

17/29 ] . [ , foot of down-sloping diagonal

18/30 ] . [ , first may be trace of high loop, i.e. β, second of high horizontal; before ε, sloping upright suits first stroke of ν

19–25 = 31–37 The lines have lost three or four metrical elements from the beginning; warping to the left, more obvious from 26 onwards, makes it hard to be precise in indicating numbers of letters lost, while those that survive offer few clear leads to the content

19/31 If *τον πατέρα* or *τον πατέρ'* following the conjectural τ[ουτο]ν[υ] of 18, there is room for little else: τ[ε]κ, *μηθ[ε]ν*, *κοι[νηθ[ε]ν*[ρα] or *δωα*ς *μη* ... would be pressing the limits of length; ?ε]μ[δ]ον *πατέρα*

20/32 High horizontal joins α: ] τδμ' δ δω[ι, or what?  
21/33 ν[ι], high horizontal, as ντ[ι], νυ[ι]; at end, shallow curve open at right: i.e. *δν τε πάντ[ε]ς* vel sim. would suit

22/34 Before υ, tip of mid-line horizontal suits ε; at end, α[ι] or perhaps λ[ι], not ο: as if *εβ[ε]αιτ'* δ[ν]

23/35 ε[ι] or ν[ι]: the foot is missing

24/36 η]μερών?

25/37 επ[ι] likely: the middle stroke of ε is prolonged, rising above a trace on the line; perhaps therefore τδ]ν *πεπ[ου]μένον*, to be echoed in 78

28–33 = 40–45 See the introductory note to Col. ii above: since, for lack of close physical contact or tenable textual supplements, the fragment which gives a letter or two from the middle of these lines cannot be located with precision in relation to the fragment which gives the ends, the layout of the text presented here could admit a degree of adjustment if there were reason to make it

28/40 γ [ι] or π[ι]. End: foot of diagonal and trace to right, as λ, χ; then particles of low ink: e.g. ] λις[ε], ] χιμ[ε]

29/41 High horizontal joins α; ] . [ , a vertical

30/42 Before c, foot of diagonal, suits α, as for *εξμενος*, *βεβ[ι]αζόμενος*, *πεπλ[ι]αζόμενος*, etc.

34/46 ] . , high ink sloping down, perhaps ] ε

36/48 ] . [ , top and bottom of tall letter split by warp, perhaps β; before ν, specks of ink consistent with foot of τ and parts of ο

37/49 Before *ειδον*, top of upright, ] ν, ] μ

38/50 ] . , slightly curved diagonal, as for ] αθ[ι], ] λθ[ι]; ] αλε[ι] probable from foot of diagonal after α; above the line, *χρηστω* or -ωι—no doubt rightly, in view of 45/57 below—but *μικρω/μικρῶ* has no obvious explanation either as misreading or variant

39/51 A particle of low ink before ω; the two letters after κω almost wholly abraded

40/52 ε[ι] rather than ε[ι] with cross-stroke lost. τ[ο]χρ[υ] seems rather long, but there is warping here, and the letters *οιο* are themselves small and close. *υμεις* on displaced and partly overlapping fibres, but enough survives to make it certain; before the υ, ] ε, ] ε, or crossbar of ] θ

41/53 ] αρ[ι] ] μων gives generous space for one letter; after that, a narrow space: punctuation lost, or faulty surface? A horizontal crack affects the latter part of the line, which was first read successfully by Dr Revel Coles: the *μη πρόσκει' εκένωαι λόγωι* of OCT<sup>1</sup> rests on a misunderstanding corrected in OCT<sup>2</sup>; it need not be quoted further. The ω of *λόγω(ς)* is just a trace; I see no ink in the abrasion after it.

42/54 ] α. [ ] ω-, a long vertical before the gap, β rather than γ; if so, the spacing looks generous, but only half of ω survives. After *μηη*, the surface is abraded (and more in 43 below); it may be that here, as

possibly in 41, the copyist skipped a letter space to avoid an outbreak of the fault that starts at the top of the column and runs down

43/55 Ink mostly gone in mid-line, but κ]αττετ[θ]η suits well

44/56 [ , foot of rising diagonal, as α[ or λ[

45/57 Trace of high ink from letter over paragraphs. In χρηστ. , τ is represented by a broken horizontal; then ρ rather than φ, and ζ rather than ψ

46/58 In second place, tall vertical; specks of ink to left suggest bow of φ; no trace of paragraphs below, but the surface is poor. [ ] , end of high horizontal, then a vertical: if τ, the space was probably filled. Over the name Κύρος, the word παῖς is to be recognized—perhaps a variant, perhaps a clarification: but can that have been needed at this point?

47/59 Trace of ink in margin as of nota personae, perhaps ζ[ωστρ. λο of ακολουθει written by first hand over letters now obscured: ?[θει]

48/60 Trace of ink in margin as for first letter of nota personae, unfortunately unrecognizable, but might be top of a vertical

49/61 .oc, horizontal on line suits δ

50/62 ω [ , curve open to right

51/63 Mid-stroke of ε links to next letter; trace of down sloping curve suggests μ

A system of lines beginning with three horizontals opposite 51 and a long forked paragraphos over the line is followed, on surface mostly lost, by remains of (it seems) three more horizontal lines, and then by what look like traces of beak, body and foot of a coronis.<sup>1</sup> Opposite, to the right of the column, the numeral would seem to give an exact total of lines in the Act, namely 364. The T is damaged, represented by upright and right half of cross-stroke, with a particle of ink which seems to survive from the left half. I do not see a sound alternative (cf. *MP* 16); and the same conclusion was reached after independent examinations of the original by Dr Revel Coles and by Mr J. C. B. Lowe (cf. *CR* 35 [1985] at p. 397). The problem, if this is so, is that 364 lines is an extraordinarily long Act by comparison with any figures we have for Menander so far. There is as yet no Act as long as 300 lines, and they can be under 200. A way out might be found by supposing that TΣΔ is a scribal error for PΣΔ (it cannot, we have seen, be read as PΣΔ, as Anton Primmer proposed); but if so, was the copyist so unconscious of his work as to be two hundred lines, or about four columns, in error? The remaining alternative is to think of 364 as a running total, for verses of the play copied up to this point, a solution suggested by Turner, in *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) at p. 224, and favoured by Zwierlein, *Kritik* IV. 340–3; but while we have parallels for totals of verses on a page, or at the end of a book of Homer, the normal running totals are those stichometrics that are expressed in hundreds. According to one's larger theories of the composition of the play, that would mean two Acts or three, and not one, in 364 lines; but in that matter the palaeographical facts are of no more aid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*<sup>2</sup> (1987) 12 with n. 59 and pl. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Mutatis mutandis*, I should like to think that the bibliographical situation here is similar to that which underlies the counts of lines and descriptions of *notae criticae* that are found in the scholia to Aristophanes, for instance *Clouds* 889d (p. 177 Koster):

διπλή και κορωνίς ἀποχωρήσαντων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. μέλος δὲ τοῦ χοροῦ οὐ κείτα, ἀλλὰ γέγραπται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ΧΟΡΟΥ και ἔπειτα ἐν εἰσθέσει ἀναπαικτικῶν <ἀμοιβῶν> τῶν ὑποκριτῶν  
and *Peace* 173a (p. 35 f. Holwerda)

διπλή και ἔκθεσις εἰς λάμβον τριμέτρον ρκς' ἔν τῷ τελευταῶν και νησιώτας' δεῖρ' ἔρ' ὧ πάντες λεῶ.  
The topic of act-structure in the *Dis Exapaton* is as prominent as any in writings on the play. Among recent studies, Mark L. Damen, 'Translating scenes: Plautus' adaptation of Menander's *Dis Exapaton*', *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 205–31, in the course of presenting his own ideas, gives at p. 215 n. 3 a concise briefing on the main problems and the principal earlier discussions.

13 ff.: P. Ba. 495 ff., Ph. = A continues, then MNESILOCHUS = CΩ., and LYDOS, same name:

495 serua tibi sodalem et mihi filium. MN. factum uolo.

499 Ph. in te ego hoc onus omne impono. Lyde, sequere hac me. Lv. sequor.

496 melius multo, me quoque una si cum hoc reliqueris.

497 Ph. adfatim est. <Lv.> Mnesiloche, cura, ei, concastiga hominem probe,

498 qui dedecorat te, me, amicosque alios flagitiis suis.

499 so placed in P, after 498 in A; ego A, ergo P; impono A, pone P 496 multo A, esset P; hoc A, illo P; reliqueris A, relinqueres P 497 est om. A; <Lv.> Hermann; cura i (ut uid.) A, cura et P 498 amicosque Camerarius, amicos atque P, amicum atque A

18–30 corresponds to P. Ba. 500–525, in particular 25–9 to Ba. 515–9:

515 (Mn.) numquam edepol uitua me inridebit. nam mihi

516 decretumst remunerare iam omne aurum patri.

517 igitur mi inani atque inopi sublandibitur

518 tum quom mihi <illud> nihilo pluris referet

519 quam si ad sepulcrum mortuo narret logos.

518 suppl. Camerarius; tum quom nihilo pluris mihi blandiri refert A 519, so edd., narres (ut uid.) A; dicat iocum P

(ii. 1–18 = 13–30)

and save him and the whole household of your friends. Lydos, let's go.

Lydos If you'd leave me here too ...

(A) Let's go. He can cope.

Lydos For him, Sostratos, some sharp treatment; go for him hard, the wastrel; he's a disgrace to his friends, to all of us.

Sostr. So now he's gone; gone, and at a single stroke she'll master him. Caught Sostratos first, didn't you? She'll deny it, of course; that's clear to me—she stops at nothing—and all the gods will come right in: 'Hope for no luck if I did'—by Zeus, yes!—'A bad end if I did.' [Back off.] Sostratos; perhaps she'll persuade you: 'So [you're here as] father's slave, then?'. Yes, for sure—and let her try her persuasion on me when I'm empty-handed and penniless. I'll return all the gold to my father, and she'll stop her persuasive pleading as soon as she sees, as the proverb is, that she's telling a tale to a corpse. But I must [go for] him now. [But I can see coming] here [?my father, no less ...]

(ii. 29 = 41) ... my wordly goods in vain ... (ii. 35–6 = 47–8) ... he gave you [...] the interest ...

(ii. 37–51 = 49–63)

Sostr. ... (?) do not in any particular [...] (?) accuse a foreign partner, an honest man (50) ... I have come back here and brought you [everything].

(B) [So far as] the gold [goes], you pay up fast, my son.

Sostr. [You'll get it] from us; don't credit an empty story.

<B> [Nobody] moored alongside, no-one in a conspiracy?

<Sostr.> No-one at all.

(B) The gold was [not] deposited with Theotimos (55)?

Sostr. [Not] with Theotimos: he took it and looked after it himself, and the yield of income is doubled, father.

(B) A most honest man: he took some trouble. What then was Syros' idea?

Sostr. [Let that be], and come with me and get the gold.

(B) You're joking.

Sostr. Come and get it (60).

(B) I'll certainly come. Just pay up, and you've treated me properly, as [it should be]; am I to pick a quarrel with you before I get it? For me that's the most immediate objective of all.

13 οκλίαν θ' ἄλλην, in spite of initial resistance by me, has rightly won recognition, for with ἀβρόν ... οκλίαν τε linked in parallel, the leading position of ἀβρόν in this final flourish of the father's plea can be seen to be valid, otherwise not. The first τε is a sentence connective: one might paraphrase 'talk to him face to face and that way you'll be the salvation of all of us as well as your friend'.



14 f. The *πρόσωπον*, impatiently repeated, cuts off Lydos' suggestion that he might stay too (his interest in doing so is a point not lost on Plautus); for the range of tone in this use of *πρόσωπον*, see on *Dysk.* 905 f. The *αὐτῷ* of 15 is worrying, and not only because not certainly read. One can wonder if it owes its prominent place to an echo of 13 (as it were 'Him? You should be harsh, and hound him ...'); Sandbach suggested attaching it to *ικανὸς ὄντος*, and supposing a slip in the part-marking (OCT<sup>2</sup>; and, with supporting argument, in *Sileno* 11 [1985] 203–5); but is it really wanted there? Arnott (Loeb) stays with the papyrus. At *Ephr.* 45/221, *ἔμοι μὲν πᾶς ἰκανός* is 'anyone will suit me', said in agreeing to an arbitrator; but here the idea is that Sostratos can cope with the situation rather than that he is acceptable to the person concerned in it. Perhaps worth noting is *PIEB* I. 37.17–19 (73 BC) *γέγραφα κὸς ἴνα ἰκανὸς γένη* '... so that you may undertake the matter' (ed. pr.).

It was Lydos, according to Plautus' version, who had taken signs of distress in Sostratos wholly as disinterested concern for his friend (*Ba.* 492–3). Such an irony would be typical of Menander; A now uses the consideration as an excuse for not taking on the role of stern father, and in turn deprives Lydos of the satisfaction of any further involvement; he has one final outburst, and then Sostratos' pent-up feelings break out as the pair leave. The whole brief, pointed sequence is framed by the references to *ἐκείνων* in 11 and 17.

18 *ἦδη ... φροδοῦς* 'So he's gone then?', *MP* 11 f., taken as referring to the abrupt departure of A; and so Frost, *Exits and Entrances in Menander* (1988) 39 f., noting (after Bain) *φροδοῖν* at *Dysk.* 776 (troch. tetr.). But the colour of *φροδοῦς*, with its background in tragedy (reinforced by Aristophanic parody, as at *Clouds* 718 ff.) may yet be too strong for that, and 'gone for good' (Sandbach) or 'come to grief' (Arnott) in reference to Moschos, now seems to me a likelier view, with *ὄντος* here and *τούτων* in 19 as the same person.

*ἐν πληγῇ μιά*, 'with a single stroke', almost 'in one fell swoop', is a guess; but (as perhaps with *φροδοῦς*), the hint of colour it brings is not inappropriate to an angry or sarcastic man. The guess is based on A. *Persae* 251 f., *ὡς ἐν μιά πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολλὸν* | *δῆλος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οὐχεται πέσον* (for *πληγῇ* see also 907). Otherwise, assuming that *ἐντλ-* stands for *ἐμτλ-*, *ἐμτληκτος*, *-τως* can be considered.

19 *καθέξει ... προήρπασας*, changing from 'She'll overcome him' to 'You caught Sostratos first': Sostratos is torn between thinking of his girl in relation to Moschos, and thinking of her in relation to himself, and to write *καθέξει<ς>* would be a trivial piece of smoothing. The reflective speech that follows is one of several examples in Menander of speeches in which a situation is imagined or recalled in terms of an exchange of dialogue between the parties present, sometimes, as here, including the speaker himself; the exchange is regularly conducted without introductory formulae, such as 'She said', 'I'll say' or the like, thus offering an actor an interesting challenge of delivery, and a critic, especially when the text is damaged, a teasing problem of recognition. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 11. 3. 91 gives the impression that actors of Menander could overdo their mimicry of other voices on such occasions; for examples and discussion see Handley-Hurst, *Retire Ménandre* (1990), at pp. 137 f., with the reference there to John Blundell, *Menander and the monologue* (1980), Ch. 3 (pp. 65–80), and the addition of the lines of *Misoumenos* published and discussed by Margaret Maehler in *LIX* 3967; Arnott, ed. *Men.* II (1996) 332 ff.

*προαρπάζω* is quoted by LSJ from Lucian, *Timon* 54 of a bird of prey snatching food, and is apt to suggest the aggressive element in the girl's attractiveness; similarly *Διδύμη* *με συνήρπασεν* in an erotic epigram by Asclepiades (*HE* 828 ff. = *AP* 5.210): 'the *Ἰραμῶς*,' says Sandbach on 21, 'does not sit still but boldly takes the initiative or the offensive'.

21 f. 'All the gods will come right in', i.e. be invoked, and so involved; for *εἰς μέσον* there is a selection of references in LSJ under *μέσος* III b, to which one might add *Aspis* 202 f. *μηκέτι* | *Δαόν ἄγει* *εἰς μέσον*, 'Don't involve Daos any more'. One can call on all the gods collectively, as at *Ar. Thes.* 274 and *M. Dysk.* 762 (*πάντων* [τῶν] *θεῶν ἐναντίον*), or on several of them in a string of oaths, as at *Samia* 309 f.; it is not clear what Sostratos is supposed to have had in mind, but it does seem that the next words are the first of two strong successive denials put into the girl's mouth.

22–3 *μὴ τοῖνον διαίμην* The type-example, quoted by LSJ under *δνήνημ* II. 2 and by Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.* II. 321, is S. *OT* 644 f., *μὴ νυν διαίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραῖος, εἰ ἐπέ τ' | δέβρακ', δλοίμην, ἄν ἐπαυτῆ μὲ δρᾶν*; but here, as commonly in such denials, the 'if I did' is taken for granted, *νῆ Δε' ἐξώλλ[η]ς ἀρα* | *Σώ[τερ]ρα' ἀπολοί[μην]*, *Dysk.* 94 f., where commentators give more. For the defiant *τοῖνον*, see *Ar. Wasps* 1140 f. with MacDowell's note, *Perik.* 80/270, and in general Denniston, *Particles*<sup>2</sup> 572 f. (4). It is likely that *κακῆ κακός* *τοῖνον* follows the same pattern. What is not so clear (at least to me) is whether the *νῆ Δία* belongs to one or other of the protests or (as I here assume) is interjected by Sostratos, a sign of his resistance, like the *ἐπᾶναγε* to come.

23 *ἐπᾶναγε* (the surviving letters now read as ε[.]...[.]αγ[.] is paralleled as a self-address by *Dysk.* 214 f. *παθε θρηῶν, Σώστρατε* (not at first recognized as such, but see *Retire Ménandre*, quoted on 19), and (from an older man in love) by *Samia* 349 f., *Δημέα, νὺν ἄνδρα χρῆ* | *εἶναι σε, κτλ.* It cuts off, as I here assume, a protest,

*κακῆ κακός ... (ἀπολοίμην)*, not a curse, *κακῆ κακός ... (ἀπόλοιστο)*; but it is hard to exclude that alternative reading: 'So damn you', *MP* (before 22 was read with *διαίμην*), and similarly Sandbach and Arnott.

24 *δοῦλος ἦκει*, more guesswork: LSJ s.v. *ἦκω* I. 5 quotes passages from tragedy in this sense, but note also *Ar. Birds* 1022, *ἐπίσκοπος ἦκω δέτρο τῷ κυάμω λαχῶν*, and *Misoumenos* 168 *ἀγαθὸν ἄκουε' ἦκει πρὸς ἡμάς*. Slaves could be held responsible for money and valuables in their charge, and threatened in various ways if thought fraudulent: τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς εὐρεθήσεται (says Smerkrines at *Aspis* 154 f.) *ἕως ἂν οἱ φέροντες ὤσω οὐκέται*; Sostratos' girl thinks it is the mark of a free man to be free with money, 95 f. below.

25–9 Having treated the opening of the speech with freedom, and with a different idea of the role of the actor, Plautus now picks up the essential decision, with its proverbial expression of telling a tale to a corpse, thus (with some help from Menander's repetitions from the speech at 91 ff.) making a reconstruction possible.

27 *πιθανομένη*, cf. 93, 'using her skills of persuasion': a little like *παθαυομένη*, *Ephr.* 769/1127, and first found here (as *παθαυομένη* first in *Ephr.*), then Artemiodorus, *Oneirocritica* 2. 32—not untypically, see on *Dysk.* 829–31. In a good note, Sandbach calls attention to *πίθνη* as an epithet of hetairai in the erotic epigram, as in Asclepiades, *HE* 824 ff. = *AP* 5. 158; as he says of *πιθανώτερος*, *Perik.* 422/1000, a sense something like that of 'attractive' develops: Plautus offers *sublindābitur*.

29 *νεκρῷ λέγοντα μῦθον*, a proverb known in several forms from the *Paroemiographi Graeci* and other collectors of such material, as *νεκρῷ λέγοντα μῦθον εἰς οὐκ*, Diogenianus VI. 82 (more in *MP* 20 n. 9); it has a life in Latin Comedy attested by Plautus, *Poen.* 840, *uerba facit mortuo*, and Terence, *Phormio* 1015, *uerba fiunt mortuis*; somewhere in the background is A. *Cho.* 926, *ἔοικα θρηῶν ζωῶα πρὸς τύμβον μάρτην*, if not also *Ar. Frogs* 1175 f., *τεθνηκῶν γὰρ ἔλεγεν, ὡ μὲν ἔφηρε σὺ* | *οἷς οὐδὲ τρίς λέγοντες ἐξικονομεῖθα*.

30 f. *ἐκείνων* was originally taken, and generally still is taken, to refer to Sostratos' father, Nicobulus in Plautus, and here to be called B; but Sostratos may have been deciding to tackle his friend first, when, by coincidence, the father arrives and the priorities are altered. It does not help that the beginning of the line is lost: *ἐλθὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνον* (Austin) is a plainer and probably safer possibility than my original *χωρεῖν ἐπ'*; *προκαλεῖσθ'* would probably be too long, and *ζητεῖν* too short. The final iota marked with diæresis is a useful pointer towards *τ[ουτο]μ[υ]*; but if *τὸν πατέρα* is to follow at the beginning of 31, the immediate sequel is less than obvious.

31–48 is all but lost; and the encounter between father and son which begins here and runs swiftly to the end of the Act has been cut by Plautus together with its resumption at the beginning of the following Act at 64 ff. B has so far been taken in by the story which the slave Syros concocted to account for the lack of a delivery of gold, as developed at some length by Plautus at *Bacchides* 235–367: evidently here and in what follows the salient points were recalled in order to be contradicted, but the few words that can be unambiguously identified do not serve to show how Menander introduced the matter.

41 *τᾶ]μαντοῦ* or (for metrical reasons), *ἐ]μαντοῦ* preceded by a short monosyllable in metrical liaison with it, such as *ἀπ'*; similarly in 35, one could think metrically of *κᾶ]δωκεν* with the first syllable long in crasis, or *ἀπ'ε]δωκεν*, *δς' ε]δωκεν* or the like.

48 *τὸν τόκον* does not make it clear what separate role the interest played in B's business arrangements. The point of the detail, apart from the need to refute the slave's earlier fiction, may have been to show that the old man's concern for the welfare of his money was strong enough to generate some goodwill in regard to the present news of successful investment, and hence to turn aside some of his anger at the deception.

49 f. Not *Πάσειδον*, since c does not suit, but probably *-]ν εἰδων*, of something Sostratos claimed to have witnessed; what came next may have been 'if you have suffered no wrong, do not accuse ... etc.', *μηδὲ ἐν* | *[ἀδικον π]αθ[ῶν, μηδὲ ἐγκαλεῖ*. The *ξένος* is called Archidemides in Plautus (*Ba.* 250, 257 al.), perhaps an invention calculated to allow a word-play on the name (*-dem-/dompturum*, 284 f.), like Chrysalus for the rather ordinary slave name Syros (*MP* 8 f., with nn. 4 and 5); it is perhaps possible (though I do not think likely) that his name in Menander was given as Meikros, which has intruded for no obvious reason into the text.

51–2 The beginnings are uncertain, not least because it is unclear who spoke them; the end of 51 is certainly Sostratos, and the end of 52 certainly B. For the conjectured *δσα*, see LSJ *δσος*, IV. 1: B wants the gold, his capital, obsessively, never mind anything else that came with it, as the rest of the dialogue makes plain.

53 The *καὸς λόγος* is the narrative referred to above on 31–48.

54 Part-division after Silvia Rizzo, *Riv. di Filologia* 109 (1981) 34–5; while we do not know how Menander led up to this exchange, it seems to make compellingly good sense and give superior dramatic economy if it is the father who recalls the details of the false story and the son who contradicts them. So also the powers of Syros as a liar are underlined: see 84–7. Double points at the end of 53 and after *ἐπεβούλευεν* are lacking,

more likely omitted than lost by abrasion; paragraphoi are lost with the beginnings of the lines. οὐδέτε, by comparison with the neighbouring supplements, has a slight advantage of length over οὐ γὰρ (Arnott). παρώρμησε, I take it, as do Arnott and Rizzo, comes from παρορμέω, and refers back to the fictional tale of a pirate ship, *is lembus nostrae nauis ... insidias dabat* (Ba. 286); Sandbach interprets as 'instigated' from παρορμάω.

55 f. Θεότιμον, cf. *Bacchides* 306 ff., where he is represented as being custodian of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, his name mentioned no less than seven times there and in the dialogue following; for more references and discussion, see Questa ad loc. and Zwierlein, *Kriitik* IV. 229 ff.; the quoted fragment 112 KT, 5 Sandbach/Arnott is attributed to the corresponding context in Menander.

56-7 Sandbach suggests τί "πρός Θεότιμον"; instead of the straight denial. The ξένος kept the money he had received in his own care, 'and the yield of income is doubled', if that is the right reconstruction. διαφορέω in the sense 'to bear double' (I suppose it might be said either of the gold itself or of its manager) is quoted by LSJ only from Theophrastus, *CP* 1. 14. 1, though the corresponding adjective διφόρος appears in Comedy as well as being recorded as a botanical term; for πρὸς in financial contexts, see LSJ s.v. III.4.

57 f. χρηστὸς εφόδρα (better than -τὸν or -τῶς) picks up from 50, and is acceptable, like *ικανὸς οὗτος* (15) as a crisp comment from an old man in a hurry.

59 εἰπέον (or anything else that can be imagined instead) brings a very abrupt dismissal, perhaps not unnatural-sounding with the all-important consideration of the gold to come; but it should be remembered that Menander is sometimes abrupt when he has extracted what he needs from a situation and wants the action to move: see on *Dysk.* 841. It is not clear where Sostratos invites his father to go to get the gold, and this is not a matter in which Plautus is any help, since he has eliminated the act-break in which the handover notionally took place.

60-1 παίσεις can be read interrogatively or not, and οἶκον ἀκολουθῶ; can be preferred (or not) to οἰκοὸν ἀκολουθῶ on grounds that are hardly more than subjective.

63 ἐμοὶ ... πρόβλημαίτερον concludes the act with a keynote remark by B; it will be picked up, with other words and motifs from the act-ending, at the beginning of the act to follow. 'It is important,' says Sandbach in the Commentary, 'that the old man, who is to be cheated in the sequel, should be unsympathetically portrayed'; that seems to me a better notion than that of ascribing the line to Sostratos, as is done in OCT<sup>2</sup>, for reasons given in the paper quoted on 14 f above.

Col. iii

	$\overline{XO}$	$\overline{P}$	$\overline{OY}$	
1				
2	1.[	[.]	[.]	[.]
3	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
4	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
5	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
6	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
7	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
8	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
9	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
10	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
11	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
12	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
13	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
14	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]
15	[.]	[.]	[.]	[.]

	$X O P O Y$	
1		
2	ϞΩ.	τ[ί φ]η<ι>ς; τὸ [χρ]υς[ί]ον παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ ξένου λ[αβ]ῶν
3		[ε]ῖ[ε] πάντ' ἀνέγκ[κλ]ητος γέγονέ σοι; (B) γέγονε γάρ.
4	(CΩ.)	[μ]ᾶ[λ]λόν [θ' ᾗ]μ' εὐφραίνει σε; (B) μᾶ[λ]λον, Cώστρατε,
5		
6		τὸν κᾶκιςτ' ἀπ[ολού]μενον
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		

16	οὐτω ἀθω[ ] ὠνπεπ[ ] ε . . . [	
17	[ ] . . . νταγα[ ] . . . ]τ'α . . . [ 3-4 ] . αν . . . [	
18	. . . ] κατ[ ] ρατ[ ] . . . σε[3-4]εμου	80
19	ε . . . θυ . . . αρ[ ] . . . υ . τ[ ] ν . . . [ ]τινα	
20	υ[ ] . . . χειριον [ ] μνηλαβων[ ]	
21	. . . . [ ]ιπατις ε . ε . [ ] αλ . . . . [	
22	[ ] . [ ] . [ ]υροστον λιο . . . [ ] ο . [ ] . ονί	
23	. . . ] νπα[ ] . . . ςτ . ςεξ . . . [ ] φασκοικκοτ . . .	85
24	νομι . αιμ'ανει αι ν . . . αγε ονεαιγ'ης	
25	. . . ]κ[ ] . [ ] . . . τοσ . υκουν . ςτ . . . ου . . . [ ]πατερ	
26	. . . ]θ . ν . ποτ . υξει ουπ . . . ρ . [ ] κυρη . τρ . ων'	
27	[ ] . . . ]πα[ ] . . . ]μοι . τα . [ ] . πε . μιπρος γοραν	
28	[ ] . . . ]ατ[ ] . . . ]τιπαττεις . [ ] λοδεδοταιτουτόσο .	90
29	<i>cwcp</i> [ ] . . . [ ] κωμ[ ] . . . ηγκαληντεκαγαθην	
30	. . . ]εινερωμενην . [ ] ω . κενος	
31	πι . ανενομένην καιπρο . οκωσαναυτ[ ] . . .	
32	. . . ]σινδεναυτηπανοκ μ . ζω[ν]χρσις ν	
33	. . . ]νναρκομιζειτου[ ] . . . αι ητουςθεουσ	95
34	[ ] . . . ]ευθεριωστ . [ ] . αλλοναξι[ ] . ςτ'εμου	
35	[ ] . . . ]τηδι[ ] . ν[ ] . . . ]αλωσποο . [ ] . [ ] . ]ευρεθη'	
36	β[ ] . . . ]αποτ' . [ ] . . . ]νουσα . τονδ'αβελτερον	
37	μ . χονε . ε . 'κα . ταμενεγαγ'οργιζ'μαι'	
38	ταδ'ουκεκ . . . ]ντονγεγονοτοςαιτιον	100
39	αδ . κηματοσγενομικατηνδ'ιταμωτατην	
40	πασωνεκεινην'ειτακορσασεναθαδε	
41	ειναιμε'πονυησεσι'χαιρεσωστρατε:	
42	<i>..τ'</i> καιεντικατ . φησκαισκυθρωποσειπειμοι	
43	καιβλεμ . ατουθ'υποδακρ . μνηνωτερον	105
44	. . . ]ονκ . ]ειληφαστιτων[ ] . νταυθα:ναι:	
45	ειτ[ ]ου[ ] . γει . : ενδογαρამελειμοσχε:πωσ:	
46	τ . . . . [ 6-7 ] φιλονυτατονπροδυχ . ν . ν	
47	. . . . [ 7-8 ] α . τουτοπρωτονωνε ω[ ]	
48	[ ] . . . . . ]δικηκας:ηδικη . αδε	110
49	. . . ]ωσεμηγενοιτοτουτοσωστρατε:	
50	ουκηξιουγγουν'ουδεγα:λεγε . ςδετι:	
51	ε . . . . ]το . ρωτατααλλ . . . ]ιαμ'αγ[ ]	

16	οὐτως ἀθῶ[ος γέγονε] τῶν πεπ[οη]μένων	
17		
18		
19	ἐπιθυμίαν[ ]	
20	ὑ[π]οχείριον . [ ] (?B) ἀλλὰ μὴν λαβῶν,	
21	ᾧπερ [ε]ἴπα, μὴ πιστεύετε . [ ] (?CΩ) . . .	
22	(B) ἢ [γ]ὰρ Cύρος τὸν ἡλιὸν μ[οι] το[υ]τοῖ	
23	εἶ[ ] γὼν πα[ρ]ατὰς ἐξέχ[ει]ν φάσκοι, σκότον	85
24	νομισαίμ' ἂν εἶναι, νύκτα γεγονέναι· γόησ	
25	ἀκ[ό]λ[α]ςτος. (CΩ) οὐκουν ξετι τούτῳ μ[οι], πάτερ,	
26	'οὐθὲν ἀποτεύζει τοῦ πατρὸς[ ] εὐ χρηστὸς ἄν';	
27	ἀλλ[ὰ] πα[ρ]άθ[ε]ς μοι. (B) ταῦ[τ'] ἄπειμι πρὸς ἀγοράν	
28	πρ[ό]ατ[ων] δ[ὲ] τι πράττης ἄλλο δέδοται τοῦτό σοι.	90
29	CΩ. καί μ[οι] ἦν δὸν κῶ μ[οι] τὴν καλήν τε κάγαθὴν	
30	ἰδεῖν ἐρωμένην ἂν ἡδ[έ]ως, κενὸς	
31	πιθανευομένην καὶ προσδοκῶσαν αὐτ[έ]κα-	
32	φήσιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ—πᾶν δ κομίζω χρυσίον.	
33	πάνυ γάρ· κομίζει τοῦ[το] καί, γὴ τοὺς θεοὺς,	95
34	[ἐλ]ευθερίως—τί[ς] μάλλον;—ἀξί[ω]ς τ' ἐμοῦ'.	
35	α[ἔ]τη δ' ἵκα[ν]ώς, καλῶς ποῦ[ς] ἄ[γ] γ', εὐρέθη	
36	ο[ἔ]α<ν> ποτ' ᾧ<ι>[μ]ην οὐσα· τὸν δ' ἀβέλτερον	
37	Μόσχον ἐλεῶ· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔγωγ' ὀργίζομαι	
38	τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων τοῦ γεγονότος αἴτιον	100
39	ἀδικήματος νενόμικα, τὴν δ' ἰταμωτάτην	
40	πασῶν ἐκείνην. MO. εἴτ' ἀκούσας ἐνθάδε	
41	εἶναι με, ποῦ γῆς ἐστι; χαιρε, Cώστρατε.	
42	CΩ. καὶ σύ. <MO.> τί κατηφῆς καὶ σκυθρωπός, εἰπέ μοι,	
43	καὶ βλέμμα τοῦθ' ὑπόδακρυ; μὴ νεώτερον	105
44	κακὸν κατείληφάς τι τῶν [γ'] ἐνταῦθα; (CΩ) ναί.	
45	(MO.) εἴτ' οὐ [λ]έγεις; (CΩ) ἔνδον γὰρ ἀμέλει, Μόσχε. (MO.) πῶς;	
46	(CΩ) τὸν μ' ἐκτόπως φιλοῦντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου	
47	. . . [ ]-τα· τοῦτο πρῶτον ἦν ἐρῶ·	
48	δεωτότατά μ' ἡδίκηκας. (MO.) ἡδίκηκα δὲ	110
49	ἔγω σε; μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτο, Cώστρατε.	
50	(CΩ) οὐκ ἡξίου γοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ. (MO.) λέγεις δὲ τί;	
51	(CΩ) ἐμὲ γάρ, τὸν ἔρωτα· τᾶλλα δ' ἡγία μ' ἄγ[αν].	

Col. iii. 51 lines, counting the *XOPOY* at the head of the page, and so numbered on the left, as for Cols i ii, with the continuous numbering to the right. That assumes that the complex of fragments at the right of 13 ff. is correctly aligned. Remains of script and fibres on both sides appear consistent with this arrangement, and do not suggest an alternative; but it must be offered with the reservations that the condition of the fragments imposes.

In 1-12 the surface is much abraded, leaving both blank spaces and traces of ink that are hard to articulate into individual letters or groups of letters. In 13-28, the constituent fragments were found crumpled and warped in ways that cannot now be fully corrected (they owe their present condition to treatment of extraordinary skill and care). The transcription, made in the first instance with the aid of squared paper, is therefore in the nature of a projection, for which the vertical fibres provide guidelines; and there is in this situation an additional hazard for reading and restoration.

2/64 Trace of ink in the right margin, as of a nota personae, compatible with [Cωcτ]ρ, but hardly a confirmation of that. Before c, heavily written, a thick upright; in mid-line, . . . [ offers a heavy diagonal for υ or χ and part of a heavily written curve (whence possibly ]υc[ for χρ]υc[ι]σφ), the last two, typically of the problems of this area, being no more than specks; then from παρα onwards the writing is normal. After ξενου, foot of diagonal as for α or λ, faint diagonal next; but λαβων or -εφ has none but the weakest support

3/65 In second place, trace of an upright; in fourth, two uprights, as of μ, ν, π; αω could be read as εφ, but otherwise παρτ suits; next, ἀνφ[κλ]ητος fits better than ἀνεπ[κλ]ητος (there is a horizontal for γ or π; the last is more like c than ν); the dicolon read after coi is over a break, and could be part of a letter if γέρονε were not divined as next word

4/66 Second is down-sloping diagonal; [ . . . ], trace as of the latter half of μ (wrong shape for top of δ), then perhaps diastole; if [ . . . ]μ', then better θ' before it than δ'. Sloping upright and part of mid-line horizontal give ε before φ. If εφφρανει ce, as the beginning and end of the sequence of letters suggest, ραι is almost wholly abraded; at the end, single rather than double point

5/67 . . . cτ, all unclear. First are high horizontal and vertical, as for τ, or (if together) π; I have considered, *inter alia*, both τικετ[ι] and παρτ[ων]. ]το[ might be ]υc[ (EGT), then at ] . . . ], forward-sloping vertical with ink over, possibly ε or ε[ι]c (cf. ii. 9). At ] . . . ρα, possibly ]πατρερα[; if so, τ has lost left cross-stroke and ε survives as end of mid-line horizontal. End: perhaps διδορε[ι], rather than -ορε[ι] or -ωρε[ι]; but with ]μωρ or ]μοι: to choose from, the articulation is still in doubt

6/68 -ηρμαι, aor. passive infin. suggests itself, given the apparent circumflex accent, as in μανηραι, φανηραι (or a compound); the beginning is too damaged to be useful; the end, after τωv, offers κακ rather than μαλ, and hence τὸν κάκιετ' ἀπολούμενον as a guess reconcilable with what little is left

7-15=69-77 Apart from a scatter of identifiable letters, the traces of ink in this area that have survived physical damage are generally so ambiguous as to make attempts at description in supplement to the transcript for the most part uninformative, it not actually misleading. Some points are noted below that may perhaps lead to useful conjectures or to the recognition of overlapping texts

7/69 ]c οδδὲ νδ[υ, or ]c οδδὲν [ . . . ], or ]cωδ δὲ υ [ and so on

8/70 δηλο[ (? δηλω)] suits

9/71 In mid-line, ]cω[ , ]cυφ[ , ]τμ[. Before ημ, long descender with speck of high ink, after it traces suit ετ, εγ, as for ε[ι]φ' ἡμετ[ε]ρ-, ]φ[ημ' ἐγ[ώ] vel sim.

10/72 ]εια [ . . . ], last perhaps c [-]είας, είας[ε] vel sim.; at ] π . . . ου, horizontal joins o, i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ, ἀπὸ σοῦ possible; then foot of diagonal, as λ; at ] . . . θ[ι, curve on line, down-sloping curved diagonal, e.g. ]θαδ[ι, ]μαδ[ι

11/73 αν[ι, αδ[ι; ]κεφ or ]χθ, but ε[ι]χθρρ- would be a tight fit after ἐκεν[ο]c or -οι; at the end, ]μικε [ . . . ] EGT, perhaps ]μικεσ [

13/75 e.g. π[ο]λλ[λ]-: the triangular letter taken as the first lambda (the second is simply a foot) is assumed to be third in the line by projection from the lines that follow; the fragment which gives it is now displaced to the right by some 20 mm; the line-endings, here and in the next verses, are also now displaced high by about 10 mm relatively to their beginnings, as is most clearly recognized from 16. At the end, e.g. τ[α]λ'ἔφ τ[ι] μ[ο]ι[ε] (or μ[ο]ι[υ] or μ[ε]), but the whole situation, including the precise alignment of the join, is unclear.

14/76 Possibly μ[ι]θὲν with nothing lost, rather than ο[ι]θὲν, the second, an upright with high joining horizontal, being more like part of η than of υ. Top of a round letter before τμχ[ι, and δυ]cτμχ[ι]c[ι]c[τ]α[τ]ω[oc], though not verifiable, could be accommodated

15/77 ο[ι]θὲν ἀδ[ι]κ[ι]- (-οι-, -ών-, -ήσας) is tempting, and may have been anticipated above in μ[ι]θὲν [ἀδύκας] vel sim. The first two letters took slightly less space than those of 14, and the narrow, abraded

space between αδ and the foot of a vertical could just take iota; otherwise ἀδ[ι], with wider spacing, is possible. In mid-line, -ετφ (?-cτφ; hardly -τμ) suggests a verb-ending, and -υρ- suggests κύρο[ι]c rather than (say) δέυρο, which would be hard to fit in

16/78 ούτως or ούτω γ' (not ούτω δ') is probably to be recognized as first word in the line; if λαθ-, μαθ-, παθ-, or one of the other possible collocations, one would expect to see more ink. The gap between αθω[ι] and the following ]ωνπε[ι] is not immediately calculable with the fragments displaced as they are, but may be reckoned as three metrical elements, and as 8-9 letters rather than 6-7: that is to say ἀθώ[ι]ος γέρονε[ι] has the advantage over such theoretical possibilities as ἀ. ἐκτι, or ἀθῶον ὄντα, just as, for reasons of space, τὸν πεπ[ι]μύωνυ to be preferred to τὸν πεπραγμένωv

17/79 The fibres are displaced, and the best I can offer is [ . . . ]επτα-, the first a mere speck over what looks like the end of a paragraphos, then at ] . . . part of a curved foot, followed by the detached foot of υ: not (e.g.) ἀπαντα

18/80 The end would accommodate a middle infinitive (e.g. Cώcτ]ματ' [ο]ι[ε]κε[θαί] γ[έ]μωv), but without more data speculation seems otiose

19-21=81-4 Some recognizable words emerge: 19 ἐπιθυμίαν, 20 ὀπιοέριον and λαβών, as well as 21 πικτενε are free from reasonable doubt; but the end of 19 and the structure of the whole remain unclear; for 22-24, more Greek survives, and there is help towards interpretation from Plautus

19/81 ] . . . υ rather than right half of η; trace of a letter joining τ (which is on a strip a little deflected to the left): i.e. a word containing -υcτ- may be thought of (such as ἀ]πυμcτ[ο]υ, which would fit) rather than ἥττ[ο] or its like; after it φν (or two other broad letters) would fill the space before τωv, but little can be seen clearly

20/82 Part of a downward oblique before ]μην is most likely a detached part of the μ and not part of the letter before it

21/83 Trace of left end of a paragraphos. At the beginning, [ . . . ], high loop suits ρ, otherwise only specks; the μη above the line looks like the copyist's own correction of an omission, as at ii. 12. After the (apparent) μη πικτενε, an upright (no trace of horizontal) with more ink above and to right (?interlinear: if so, possibly ]ωcτφ), but no dicolon to be seen; after the gap, two diverging diagonals for κ (or damaged β): καλωκ- could be read (for (?-)καλέω + κ- or what?); less likely καλων, καλωc

22/84 [ . . . ], first an upright, then after the gap two specks which might be almost anything; the μ of the presumed μ[ο]ι is just a trace; the rest, apart from the line-beginning, is recognizable: see the articulated version

23-4=85-6 ννν looks likely; in the presumed ἐξέχ[ει]ν, there is a mid-line horizontal for ε, descending diagonal (and foot below it?) for χ, and a vertical for ν; warping has closed the crack where ει is expected, and in 24 the κτ of νύκτα, though traces remain, are affected by this

25/87 κ is damaged, but not to be read as κδ; at ] . . . ], a low speck; c (to suit δ]κ[δ]λ[α]cτoc) or υ (as if ούτωc) before -τωc. Low rising curve at [ . . . ] suits μ[ο]ι

26/88 If α]κ- above, π[ο]θεν or μ[η]θὲν (say) might have a slight (probably negligible) advantage in space over such other possibilities as ρ[η]θεν or οδ[ι]θεν, of which the last seems to suit the sense best. There is some distortion, but the c of the presumed πατρός[c] was most likely written and not lost by haplography, as in the first copying of ii. 12

27/89 [ . . . ], ]λλ[ rather than ]μ[; a high horizontal with traces of uprights, and a triangular letter should represent ]πα[ rather than ]τδ[; before μοι, on twisted fibres, apparent traces of two round letters: from the space (if either is to be thought of) πα[ρ]αδ[ε]c rather than πα[ρ]αδ[ε]c

29/91 [ . . . ], traces of ink shared between joined fragments, first may be remains of vertical, second suits first stroke of μ

30/92 First, a descender; second, traces of horizontal ink on the line. At mid-line, ἥδ[ε]ω[ι]c was diagnosed by Sandbach and Lloyd-Jones (quoted in MP) and ὠδ[ι] [ι]ών (or λών) by Colin Austin: damage and warping combine to make the choice hard. Two low specks of ink for feet η or bottom of ω; triangle for right-hand [sic] corner of δ; a minute low particle of ink (if not random) for the next, then diagonal of υ, or (as I slightly prefer) top of c; then, on loose fibre, high point

31/93 Last but one is a shallow sloping downstroke: i.e. ἀντ[ι]κα suits, not ἀπτόθεν

32/94 Trace of an upright before c; before that amidst abrasion, remains of a triangle or flattened curve, acceptable as left half of φ, but the upright has totally gone. φ on broken surface, but υ (i.e. πώνυ) is excluded; ]ν], deletion by a rising diagonal stroke

33/95 First, two low dots of ink, as for  $\pi$ ; then foot of downsloping diagonal for  $\alpha$

34/96  $\tau$ . [ , high horizontal joins tall vertical, i.e.  $\tau$

35/97 An angular breathing probably accounts for all the ink, there being in that case no trace of the base of the first letter of 34, and nothing, unless the odd particle of ink, for the alpha presumed to have stood here. At [ ] [ ]  $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\theta\eta$ , part of down-sloping diagonal leaves room only for a narrow letter before  $\epsilon$ : i.e.  $\pi\omega\upsilon$ [c]a[y], and perhaps even a trace of a horizontal joining  $\epsilon$ ; not  $\pi\omega\theta\epsilon$ '  $\acute{\alpha}$ [v]-

36/98 Angular breathing over small  $\omega$ , rather than any trace from 35; downsloping stroke as for  $\alpha$  before  $\pi\omega\tau$ ; then right-angled foot of letter,  $\omega$  rather than  $\epsilon$ , and upright after the gap; a join intervenes, but  $\omega$ [ $\mu$ ]  $\eta\upsilon$  seems likelier than  $\omega$ [ $\mu$ ]  $\eta\upsilon$

37/99  $\epsilon$ .  $\epsilon$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  JRR, quoted in *MP*; the second is abraded, leaving traces that look (deceptively) like parts of upright and horizontal, then a join before  $\epsilon$ , and confused ink that once suggested to me  $\nu$ , or even parts of two letters: i.e.  $\acute{\epsilon}\langle\lambda\alpha\rangle\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\langle\lambda\alpha\rangle\beta\epsilon\upsilon$ ?

44/106  $\kappa\alpha\kappa$  suits the first three; and a high horizontal joining  $\epsilon\lambda$ - verifies  $\kappa\alpha\tau$ -. The fibres are displaced after  $\tau\omega\upsilon$ , but I see no cause to doubt that there was room for another letter before  $\epsilon\nu\tau$ -, as Sandbach (OCT) is inclined to do

45/107  $\epsilon\iota\tau$  or  $\epsilon\iota\pi$ , at the junction of two fragments; beyond it, the vertical fibres run askew to the right and back again, apparently a minor fault in manufacture, which will have left horizontal fibres exposed for a small space, on which nothing seems to have been written. [ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ ]  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\kappa$  Sandbach (quoted in *MP*); I had thought of  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , which involves allowing for an omission; there is a trace of a high horizontal for  $\gamma$ , and I now recognize some indefinite sign of the base of the letter before it

46/108  $\tau\omega\mu$  is acceptable, with traces of a small curve for  $\omega$ , of feet of uprights for  $\nu$ , and low shallow curve for  $\mu$ ; part of a sloping upright follows beyond the join of fragments, looking more like a trace of the next letter than the final stroke of  $\mu$ . After that, the surface is almost totally abraded, and nothing can be verified

47/109 A high horizontal joins  $\alpha$ , as for  $-\gamma\alpha$ ,  $-\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $-\tau\alpha$ ; perhaps  $-\kappa\alpha$ . Indeterminate traces of four letters at the beginning, and occasional flecks of ink after that, where a blank of 7-8 letters is shown. Last is very likely small omega; before it, traces of upright and small loop for rho; not (I now believe)  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon$ . . . was printed in *MP*;  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  has become the vulgate)

48/110  $\delta$ [ ]  $\epsilon\iota$ - can be divined from the traces, and  $\delta\epsilon\omega\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\mu$ '  $\eta\delta\iota\omega\sigma\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  would fit the space without inconsistency with what flecks of ink there are, but with no dependable claim to support from them

51/111 Second offers curved uprights with trace of joining stroke as for  $\mu$  or  $\pi$ ; third, in a crack on horizontal fibres, has parts of curve and mid-line horizontal, as if  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ ; next two may be trace of high horizontal and top of a triangular letter; then upright and part of high bow; perhaps therefore  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho$ . The two letters after  $\tau\omega$  are abraded to specks. Towards the end, a series of triangular letters resolves itself as  $\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\delta$ '; after that, room for two broad letters: in it only confused traces, on torn and twisted fibres, of three (or four?) uprights:  $\eta\upsilon$  or anything comparable

83-7: cf. P. Ba. 698-700. Mnesilochus/Sostratos with Chrysalus/Syros:

698 Mn. immo si audias quae dicta dixit me aduersum tibi.  
699 Ch. quid dixit? Mn. si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres,  
700 se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies.

91-113 corresponds to P. Ba. 526-562, Mnesilochus/Sostratos with Pistoclerus/Moschos: in particular (a) 91-4 to Ba. 530-1; (b) 102-8 to Ba. 528 f. with 536-39, and (c) 109-13 to Ba. 559-62

(a) 91-4: P. Ba. 530-1

530 Mn. reddidi patri omne aurum. nunc ego illum me uelim  
531 conuenire, postquam inanis sum, contemptricem meam.  
532 530 reddidit (ut uid.) A

(b) 102-8: P. Ba. 528 f. with 536-39

528 Pr. nam illud animus meu' miratur, si a me tetigit nuntius,  
529 quid remoretur.  
528 nunc illud A a me P, iam A

536 Pr. saluus sis, Mnesiloche. Mn. salue. Pr. ...  
538 numquae aduenienti acritudo obiecast? Mn. atque acerruma.  
539 unde? Mn. ab homine quem mihi amicum esse arbitratus sum antidhac.  
538 acerrumc P

(c) 109-13: P. Ba. 559-62

559 Mn. uideo non potesse quin tibi eius nomen eloquar.  
560 Pistoclere, perdidisti me sodalem funditus.  
561 Pr. quid istuc est? Mn. quid est? misine ego ad te ex Epheso epistulam  
562 super amica, ut mihi inuenires?

## C H O R U S

(iii. 2-4=64-66)

*Sostr.* What's that you say? By getting the gold from your foreign friend he is wholly blameless in your eyes?

(B) He is indeed.

*Sostr.* And he pleases you more, too?

(B) More, Sostratos ...

(iii. 6=68) ... the rogue ... (ii. 16=78) ... so he is not guilty of what's been done ... (iii. 19=81) ... desire ...

(iii. 20ff.=82ff.)

*Sostr.* [brought] under control.

(B) [Yet even] if you do that, don't trust him, as I say ... For sure, if Syros were standing by me and said the sun was shining here, I'd think it was dark (85 f.), that night had come—an incorrigible trickster.

*Sostr.* So I can depend on this, then, father 'As a good son, your father won't deny you?'—but just deliver!

(B) I'm off to the market to do this business of mine; this other business is yours to do (90).

*Sostr.* I really do think I could be glad to see my fine lady of a lover being persuasive now I'm empty-handed—and expecting at once (so she tells herself) all the gold that I'm bringing. Very much so: 'He's bringing it like a gentleman, on my oath (95), and just as I deserve'. But she was found out clearly enough—and well done too—as being the sort I used to think she was. The feeble Moschos has my sympathy. On the one hand, I am angry; but on the other I don't consider him responsible for the wrong that's been done (100 f.), but her, most unscrupulous of women that she is.

*Moschos* So he's heard I'm here: where on earth is he? Sostratos!—good day to you.

*Sostr.* And to you.

*Moschos* But tell me, why are you so downcast and scowling, with that look of being near to tears? You haven't come on some new example of our local troubles, have you (105 f.)?

*Sostr.* Yes, indeed: trouble indoors, Moschos.

*Moschos* How so?

*Sostr.* My [extraordinarily good] friend of times past [is deceiving me (?)]. The first thing I'll say is this: you have wronged me most terribly.

*Moschos* I? Wronged you? Never let it be, Sostratos (110 f.).

*Sostr.* I wouldn't have expected it myself.

*Moschos* But what is it you mean?

*Sostr.* Me and my love; and the rest of it is something that grieved me to excess.

64-90 Re-enter Sostratos and his father (B); the poor condition of the remains means that very little can be made out except at the beginning and the end of the scene, but perhaps enough to make it clear that there was further discussion of the slave Syros and the false tale he had spun about the gold. Sostratos pleaded successfully (just how, we cannot follow) that Syros should be left to him to deal with, and not punished. Plautus, who had earlier made the young man's gratitude to the slave a main motif (*Ba.* 385-404), at this point has him refer prominently to this transaction with his father, which, with the cutting of the two short scenes in question, took place notionally during a quick exit and return that is covered by a few lines of entrance monologue by the young man (526-29, based in part on 102 f.): so 521-5, *exorabo* ... etc., is picked up at 532 f. *sed uniam mihi quam grauate pater dedit de Chrysole!* [uerum postremo impetravi ut ne quid ei susceat.

Menander's technique of echoing the end of one Act in the beginning of the next has been extensively discussed since *Dyskolos*, *Misoumenos*, *Dis Exapaton* and other discoveries from 1959 into the 1960's and up to the present have added to the stock of examples: for basics, see *MP* 12 and n. 8; *Entr. Hardt* xvi (1970) 10–18; and *Revue Méandre* 34–6 (H.-D. Blume) and 132 f., with some further references, especially to Alain Blanchard's full study in his *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre* (Paris, 1983). Here there are two sets of echoes, first with father and son resuming their talk, and then from 91 onwards, with Sostratos' short soliloquy picking up from his speech at 25 ff.

64 τὴ φῆς; is a regular opening remark when two characters enter in conversation, and is used sometimes when they are supposed to have been coming from some way off, as at *Dysk.* 50 (and note the variant *εἶπε μοι* at 233); but that need not be so, as is shown by *Dysk.* 563, in a dialogue between characters both present on stage. The key to the content is the relatively undamaged *παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ ξένου*; the rest is guesswork.

65 ἀνέγκλητος 'guiltless', if rightly read, is new to Menander; ἀνεπίκλητος in a similar sense appears at *Ephir.* 590/910, but does not seem to have been written here.

66 *For εὐφραίνει* one can compare PDidot I. 22 f., *καὶ πῶς τοσαῦτα χρήματ' ἔστιν, ὦ πάτερ, | ἃ μάλλον ἀνδρὸς εὐφραίνει παρόντα μὲ;*

67–8 It is possible, as above, to stitch the remains into some sort of comic verse, but the ambiguities present discourage one from thinking that the exercise is very useful. τὸν κάκιστ' ἀπολοῦμενον (variant τὸν κακῶς ἀπολοῦμενον, *Ar. Ach.* 952) is a perennial term of abuse against slaves or others thought to be inferior: e.g. *Ephir.* 52/228; *Dysk.* 208, addressing Poverty as a horrid old woman.

78 ἄθροος, *Dysk.* 645; if it is accepted here, the line would seem to echo 65, ἀνέγκλητος, and so perhaps round off the first stage of the discussion; if B is not to punish Syros himself, it seems he will be put in the charge of Sostratos (? ὑποχείριον, 82), but with a colourful caution against trusting him.

82 f. Traces of paragraphoi indicate changes of speaker in or at the end of these lines, or both; but it is not clear from the text that survives where they came. B must at least say *μή πίστευε* in 83 and resume with 84 ff. after an interjection of some kind by Sostratos; 82 can either be given wholly to Sostratos, with ὑποχείριον λαβῶν together, and -μην possibly a verb ending; or else it can be divided between the two, and ὑποχείριον understood with λαβῶν.

84–6 B's flight of phrase on the topic of Syros' falsehoods is lost from the present context of *Bacchides* with the rest of Plautus' cuts, but reappears later on when quoted to the slave by his young master (see above). We cannot be sure whether this is the result of transference by Plautus or repetition by Menander (*MP* 15 f.); but the echo at *Perinthia* 13–15 of words from an earlier scene in the play represented by fr. 1 (3 Sandbach) at least shows that there is no objection in principle to the idea that Menander recalled the lines in a later context of *Dis Exapaton*. For ἡ γὰρ, see Denniston, *Particles*<sup>2</sup> 284.

86 f. γόης ἀκόλαστος, here taken together as 'an incorrigible trickster'; but could possibly be read as two separate epithets, as could ἄεθρον ἄργον, 'an idle pest', at *Dysk.* 366. Plato, *Smp.* 203d has δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστῆς of Eros; Demosthenes, *de Cor.* (18). 276 similarly δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστῆν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἰνομάλων; the text given as *Com. Adesp.* 1307K (cf. *PCG* VIII, at p. 515) adds a little more colour to the common term of abuse with γόης τις ἢ Κέρκυψ λόγων.

87 f. οἰκον is here taken to introduce a challenging question; but see on 61 above. Sostratos claims to have on his side the notion that a fond father will deny a good son nothing. It is not obvious whether this is presented as a piece of proverbial wisdom or is a real or pretended quotation from B. Kallippides in *Dyskolos* claims to have met his son's every wish (τί δέ | οὐ συγκυχώρηξ'; 785 f.); more to the point, perhaps, B's Plautine equivalent Nicobulus says in a later context that only his devotion to his son has kept him from punishing the slave very severely: *Ba.* 777 ff., *per omnis deos adiuro ut, ni meum | gnatum iam amem atque ei facta cupiam quae is uelit | ut tua iam uirgibus latera lacerentur probe*, etc. οὐδὲν admits alternatives, the likeliest (it may be) a question with πόθεν.

89–90 *παράθεε*, for which I offer 'deliver', assumes *παραιτίημι* in the general sense of 'provide', LSJ, s.v., A. c. 2; but its familiar use in Comedy, as indeed elsewhere, is of serving food, and the restoration itself may not be right. The remark, and B's reply to it, both in any case allude to the part of the conversation that is lost to us. In *τοῦτ' ἄπεμι πρὸς ἀγοράν | πρᾶττων* B's business is presumably to pay over his recovered gold to a banker, or a creditor or whoever, and it would reinforce the point if he had it with him in a money bag whether carried by himself or by a slave; the ἄλλο τοῦτο which B says is given to Sostratos to do, is (I take it) to sort out Syros in some way short of the punishment B would have thought appropriate: see the preceding note. I doubt if the commission was 'to reprove his friend Moschos', as Sandbach says; but the argument is over a void. *πράττης* (subj.) is needed, not -ειε.

91–102 Left alone, Sostratos is presented as turning back to the thoughts of his soliloquy at 18 30, but with the difference that the decision to give the gold to his father and not to the girl is now carried out. The link between the two speeches is underlined by verbal echoes (21, *ἰταμοί* with *ἰταμωτάτην*, and *κενός* | *πίπνευο-μέντην*, now in juxtaposition), as well as by the manner in which direct quotation is used to portray the girl as her lover sees her. As before, and even without such severe textual damage, the precise assignation of the words and/or thoughts is hard to determine with confidence.

91–2 *δοκῶ μοι ... ἡδέως* is well paralleled by Xenophon, *Oec.* 6. 11, *ταῦτ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἡδέως ἄκοινεν σοι*, and *Cyr.* 8. 7. 26, *ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωθήαι τινος* (Barigazzi, *Riv. di Fil.* 98 [1970] at p. 151; and note also *Aspis* 435); parallels in Comedy for the ironical use of *καλῶς κἀγαθός* are given by Sandbach in his note on *Aspis* 311.

93–6 *φῆσιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ* seems to refer to what the girl says (or thinks) to herself; but it is not wholly clear what that is. Arnott takes the words on their own as a parenthesis, as given here, making the simplest and possibly the best assumption: her words then follow in 95 f. In *MP*, I had included *αὐτίκα* in the parenthesis; Sandbach writes—'αὐτίκα' | *φῆσιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ*—; it is possible to contemplate *αὐτίκα* | *φῆσιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν* 'she says it all herself, straight out'. It is also to be considered whether the *πάνν γάρ* is best seen as a loosely constructed intensive with the following words (which are otherwise heavily qualified), or as an interjection by Sostratos of the kind that I incline to see in the *νῆ Δία* of 29, and would now see here. Beyond that, one can wonder (as I did in *MP* 21, n. 15) whether there is something more to the connection between the girl and the gold: was she, in Menander, called Chrysis not Bacchis? That could give an extra point to *φῆσιν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ*, however read, and to *ἀξίως τ' ἑμοῦ*. Etymological word-play with names is perennial in Greek, notoriously with Helen and the root of *ἔλειν* (see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 687), but also with characters less than legendary, for instance, Plutarch, *Life of Nicias* 3, quotes Timaeus for the etymological resonance of the names Nicias with *νίκη* and Hermocrates with *Ἑρμοῦ*. The matter is primarily of interest in regard to Plautus' changes of names in the play, and cannot be pursued in full detail here. The name Syros (which is coupled with Parmenon as the name of a very ordinary sort of slave at *Ba.* 649 f.) is changed by Plautus to Chrysalus 'Goldie', giving several comic possibilities, as at 240, *opus est chryso Chrysalis*; and there are more word-games with Bacchis (perhaps, therefore, like Chrysalus, and in consequence of Chrysalus, Plautus' own choice: see *Ba.* 53, 371); and with Archidemides (see above on 49 f., and further *Quaest.* *ed. Ba.*<sup>2</sup> 1 ff., esp. 6 n. 6).

94 ὃ κομίζω, the monosyllabic relative pronoun in metrical liaison with the following verb, as with ὃ λέγει at the same place in the line at *Samia* 154; see in general *Dyskolos* of Menander 63 ff.

95 f. For *πάνν* (here, with the *γάρ*, separated from what follows), see H. Thesleff, *Studies on Intensification* ... (Helsinki, 1954) 73 ff. The broken (one is tempted to say 'fluttering') utterance of *κομίζεις, κτλ.* is perhaps intended as a thumbnail sketch of the girl's excitable behaviour: notably, it includes an oath (see 21 f.); for *καί ... τε*, 'indeed ... and worthy of me too', see A. M. Dale on *E. Alc.* 646–7.

97 *καλῶς ποιεῖς γ'* and cognate expressions can be used ironically, as here and at *Dysk.* 629 (of Knemon's fall into the well). *ἰκανῶς* 'is probably to be taken with *εὐθέθη*' (Sandbach), and I now do so.

98 *οἶα(ν)* remedies what may be a simple haplography (*ν* before *π*), but the pressure from the surrounding nominatives is strong. Here and in what follows Sostratos attempts to meet his disillusionment with balance; this allocation of the blame between friend and girl-friend may have influenced Plautus' choice of an opening for the soliloquy at *Ba.* 500 f., *inimiciorem nunc utrum credam magis | sodalem esse an Bacchidem incertum admodumst*.

102 The indignant *εἶτα*: see LSJ s.v., and on *Dysk.* 153, where it begins a considerable harangue by Knemon. Moschos here enters from the house in which he has found Sostratos' girl, and become involved with her sister, the cause of all the confusion and excitement.

104 *καί σύ*, used in returning a greeting: *καί σύ γ'* *Ar. Lys.* 6, *νῆ καί σύ γ(ε)* *M. Georgos* 41, *Samia* 128; or indeed in returning a curse, *Samia* 295.

104 f. *κατηφές ... κενθρωτός ... βλέμμα τοῦθ' ὑπόδακν*, the description focuses the audience on what they can see (the downcast head) and supplies what they need to imagine. Modern experience of masked theatre shows how vital body language is in the absence of changeable expressions (to which, incidentally, one can sometimes feel over-exposed by close-ups on the large or small screen). The present symptoms of pain, anger and despair, in different measure, are similarly indicated in tragedy: e.g. *E. Med.* 1012 *τί δαί καταφές θυμὰ καὶ θακρυπρωεῖς*; (see also *Held.* 633, *Or.* 881); but here they are the mark of the unhappy lover, and so elsewhere in New Comedy and in literature influenced by it: it is a proof of an unhappy love-affair that a man at a party *ἐδάκρυεν καὶ ἐνέστραε καὶ τι καταφές* | *ἔβλεπε, χῶ φρυγχεῖς οὐκ ἔμενε στέφανος*, Asclepiades, *HE* 894 ff. (896–7) = *AP* 12. 135.

105-7 καὸν ... τῶν γ' ἐνταῦθα: a very mild allusion, if it is one, to contemporary affairs in Athens (the date of the play's production is not known). The trouble, as ἐσθὼν γὰρ ἀμέλει laconically indicates, is inside in the house, not outside in the city.

108 An adverb seems to be what is lost, and ἐκρόσιος is here supplied from *Dysk.* 824; ἐξόχιος would do as well for sense, less well for space. *Bacchides* 540 551, in sequel to 539, which corresponds to the present line, is a dialogue on false friendship which has been thought from time to time to derive from Menander, but plainly does not derive from the immediate context before us, and is in any case of doubtful status in the transmission of Plautus. The possible origins of the passage are briefly explored in *MP* 17 f., with nn. 17-19; for a full discussion, see Zwierlein, *Kritik* I. 24-30 and IV. 261 ff.

109 Missing are main verb and (probably) participle ending in -ν]τα, as it might be ἐγγων μὲν ἀπαρτῶντα. The traces of ink left by abrasion are slight, and may be deceptive, but I have nothing to offer which seems to suit them.

110 δεινότερα is almost pure guesswork; but the young man's powerful outburst at *Ba.* 560 at least lends credence to the presence of a strong word here, and this one does seem to suit what little ink can be seen.

112 οὐκ ἤξιον: the imperfect verges on the sense of a past potential, 'I wouldn't have expected it'; so perhaps with ἤξιον positive at PDidot I. 17; and so with other verbs in the semantic fields of necessity, propriety and expectation: see KG i. 204-6.

112-3 λέγει δὲ τίς: Compare 107: the εἶτα there and the inversion here emphasize the urgency of the question; but with ἐμὲ γὰρ, τὸν ἐρωτᾶ (if rightly read) the speaker looks back rather to the ἡδίστηκα/ἡδίστηκα exchange in 110. The distinction made between the first charge of ἀδικία and the other things which were painful shows that Sostrotos regarded the wrong as aggravated by the circumstances in which it was committed: that is, presumably, not only by a friend, but by a friend in a position of special trust: in *Bacchides* 561 ff., consistently with that, the young man makes a leading point of the letter he sent from Ephesus commissioning his friend to find the girl. On different kinds of wrong as perceived in the fourth century BC and earlier, see on *Dyskolos* 297 f., with much more material in MacDowell's edition of Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* (1990), pp. 18-23; and also Trevor J. Saunders, *Plato's Penal Code* (1991), index under *excuses* and *aggravations*.

E.W. HANDLEY

4408. MENANDER, *Misoumenos* 152-9

100/191 (d)

12.7 × 5 cm

Second/third century

A tattered and badly abraded broad strip of papyrus, broken off at top and foot. In one place the full length of a verse survives, measuring c. 10 cm; of the intercolumnia 1.5 cm are preserved on the left and 0.9 cm on the right (at the narrowest points). The back is blank and the writing runs along the fibres.

The text is written in a rapid angular hand generally slanting to the right, with no pretensions to formality. I suppose it may be assigned to the late second or the early third century. Notable are some affinities to the 'Severe Style' in the shapes of ε and c (both straight-backed), ν, ο (mostly tiny), υ, and ω with the central stroke almost eliminated. Bilinearity is strictly maintained. XXIII 2357 (assigned to the second century, but the third cannot be excluded) and VII 1016 (= *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 84; mid-third century), both examples of this style, are quite similar. One may also compare it to the less stylised XXXII 2627 (second century, assigned), or XXXIX 2882 (late second century, assigned).

A *dicolon*, written by the original scribe, serves for speaker division in 155; another *dicolon* must have stood in 157, but the surface is abraded. At these places abbreviated

*notae personarum* have been inserted in the interlinear space. These are surely later additions: they are written in a cursive script with a thicker pen, which may point to a second hand. It remains uncertain whether *paragraphoi* were employed, since where they would be expected the surface is rubbed away. There is no evidence for any other lectional signs, apart from a dubious case of *apostrophe* in 158.

The papyrus coincides with a badly damaged part of 2656 (Sandbach O10). The two papyri do not always seem to offer the same text, but these discrepancies occur in places where the physical damage is too severe to allow evaluative judgements. Some problems can be resolved, but there are still important questions left unanswered. The fragment comes from a dialogue scene about which speculation has been rife.<sup>1</sup> In my view there is not sufficient ground for guessing either who are the speakers or what is the subject of their conversation' (Sandbach p. 447). We now have a better but not perfect idea about the speakers; but the topic of their discourse still evades us.

The new papyrus provides us with three names: two in the form of abbreviated *notae personarum*, the other in the text. The first, Χρυσ- in 155, most probably stands for a woman named Χρυσίς. A similar abbreviation also occurs in 2656, where one reads [.]ρ[υ]ς; up until now the damage had made Chrysis only one of the candidates. Chrysis addresses another woman, Syra. Another *nota* in 157 introduces a third person. Despite the palaeographic uncertainty (see below), it seems reasonable to identify the speaker as Krateia. Where she stops speaking is not clear. Getas delivers a monologue shortly after, which perhaps begins in 159, cf. Sisti p. 101. At any rate, in 160 Krateia's father is spoken of in a derogatory manner ill-befitting his daughter.

It is likely but not certain that all three persons were on stage at the same time. But there is no means of telling whether all of them took part in the dialogue. The person who speaks before Chrysis may be Syra or Krateia. On the basis of parallels, I am more inclined to see Syra as a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, but see the note on 155 below.

With the text fragmentary beyond recovery, the identity of the characters involved in the dialogue which introduces the text presented by 2656 has always been a puzzle. Turner (*New Fragments* 11) and after him Webster (*Introd. Men.* 165) suggested that one of them was Krateia. Merkelbach thought of Krateia's nurse and another servant of Krateia who had come into Thrasonides' possession (*RhM* 109 (1966) 101); these two persons could be Chrysis and Syra respectively. Arnott recently argued for three characters on the stage: Krateia's nurse, who converses with an old female slave of Kleinias (?Syra), and Getas, who eavesdrops in the background and 'comment[s] in asides on what he hears' (l.c. 35). But there are no positive indications that anyone from Kleinias' household is on stage; and, as the new papyrus shows, Krateia may well be one of the speaking characters (in 143, *pace* Arnott, I think that  $\phi$  θυ[γ]ρα[τ]ριδίου, spoken to Krateia

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of the passage see Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* 11; R. Merkelbach, *RhM* 109 (1966) 100 f.; W. Kraus, *RhM* 114 (1971) 5 f.; Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* 446 f.; T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* 165; F. Sisti, *Menandro: Misoumenos* 99 f.; W. G. Arnott, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 33 ff.

by her nurse, does not belong to a reported conversation). My view is that there are three speaking characters: Krateia, Chrysis (her nurse), and Getas in the background; on stage with the women is also Syra (a slave of Krateia or Thrasonides), who is a *persona muta*. Much depends on the interpretation of ἀπαλλάγηθ' ('go away') in 141, which is the elided form of either ἀπαλλάγηθι or ἀπαλλάγητε: one of the speakers hears a whisper, suspects that it must have come from someone around, and urges the other(s) to go. In 155, after we hear that someone is lurking nearby (154), Chrysis says to Syra that they should go (ἀπίωμεν). It is tempting to think that ἀπίωμεν picks up ἀπαλλάγηθ'. The plural (ἀπίωμεν) would make ἀπαλλάγητε attractive, and would reinforce the case for supposing that the three women are present together. Thus in 141 Krateia says 'go away' to Chrysis and Syra, because they were overheard. But they remain on stage, until there is no doubt that someone whom they cannot see is watching them. Then Chrysis tells Syra, 'let's be off', and the two women exit the stage, leaving Krateia alone. (I find less attractive the idea that Chrysis says ἀπαλλάγηθι to Krateia, since Krateia remains on stage after Chrysis expresses her intention of leaving.) This interpretation may receive support from the two passages where we find ἀπίωμεν with an addressee's name, Ar. *Peace* 1260 and Men. *Ephit.* 631. Indeed, we may see that Menander's use of the construction in both *Ephitrepontes* and here appears to be the same: two persons are having a conversation, and one of them (speaker A) says ἀπίωμεν to a person who is not involved in the action, and is of lower status; after that, speaker A and the mute make their exit, leaving speaker B alone. In *Peace* ἀπίωμεν is likely to have been addressed by the ἐπλων κάπηλος to a κωφὸν πρόσωπον, cf. Platnauer on 1210–64; the dialogue between Trygaios and the κάπηλος continues for a short while, and soon Trygaios is left alone on the stage. In *Ephitrepontes* the cook Karion converses with Smikrines and at some stage says to his assistant, another mute (cf. G-S on 603–36 and W. G. Arnott, *Menander* I p. 469), that they should be off. Immediately afterwards or a little later (the text is too fragmentary) Karion exits along with Simias, and leaves Smikrines alone in the stage.

157 introduces a further difficulty. The person who speaks the second half of the verse asks 'with whom does he drink then?'. The identity of the drinker is not stated. Is he the same as the one who is described as πίνων in 167? But there, too, it is not clear to whom it refers. Sandbach preferred to see Kleinias; Sisti argued for Demeas. 167 is certainly spoken by Getas, 157, perhaps, by Krateia. If she is referring to a particular person, it must be Kleinias, since she does not know of Demeas' presence. Or could she be referring to the unknown stranger, who will turn out to be Demeas? In any case, the two different speakers may mean two different drinkers.

Could there in fact be two? There could, assuming that Kleinias is drinking with his guest Demeas in his house. We may infer from 164 (ἤσέν ποτ' αὐτῶν) θάτερος that two men are drinking, and one of them is singing. Perhaps these songs were heard outside the house, and that would account for Krateia's question in 157; she hears them and wonders about Kleinias' company. (There may of course be a problem in her not

recognising her father's voice.) On the other hand Getas has seen them. One of them, apparently Demeas, is unknown to him; this to my mind is the implication of the vexed 163 ἀρ' οὐτός ἐστι δοῦλος. (I cannot believe that Getas speaks of Kleinias; Kleinias must be Thrasonides' neighbour, but Getas' words do not betray the familiarity that neighbourhood would have produced.)

Another problem arises from the appearance of another female character in 387, Simiche, on whom see LIX 3967 introd. (p. 61). One of the possible identifications suggested is that she may be Krateia's nurse; this appears more difficult now than before, since Chrysis may well occupy this position (cf. also Arnott, l.c. 35). The choices may be limited, I think, either to a servant of Kleinias or to a servant of Thrasonides. If we are to take Chrysis and Syra as belonging to Thrasonides' household (whether they have a special connection with Krateia matters less), the number of his servants would be four with Getas and Simiche, an unusually high number. On the other hand, we hear of only one female slave of Kleinias (γραῦς). Perhaps Simiche is a person from Kleinias' house, but without more of the text this cannot be confirmed.

The play enjoyed remarkable popularity in antiquity. This papyrus brings the number of papyri identified as belonging to *Misoumenos* to thirteen, the highest number of ancient manuscripts for any of Menander's plays. For a list of them, to which now add LIX 3967 and LX 4025, see Sisti pp. 18 ff.

Turner noted that '[a] somewhat disturbing feature ... is the discrepancies between the different texts' (*New Fragments* 6). This feature is also shared by this papyrus, which in 153 and 157 diverges from 2656. I can offer nothing by way of explanation. At 153 the text of 2656 makes good sense, and perhaps our papyrus is at fault; the contrary is true in 157, where 2656 may have had nonsense. Papyri of other plays of Menander sometimes disagree with each other, but this degree of textual difference has no counterpart in any other play.

I have inspected 2656 in the British Library, where it is now kept, and this has led me to alter the text of the ed. pr. at certain points. All references to its readings derive from this revised transcription. For the (articulated) text I rely on the OCT and Sisti's edition with commentary. I am grateful to Dr. C. F. L. Austin for valuable suggestions on the text.





νὴν δ' ὀβριεῖ occupies the same position in the trimeter also at Crat. fr. 194 and Men. Ph. 491. The verb is missing; we could understand *παρειαίκοις* or *ἀλφει* (Austin).

155 ἀν οἱ θεοὶ θέλασιν. 2656 has [.] . . . θεοῖθε [.] . . .], the first trace a diagonal (consistent with nu) and the second a closed loop, admitting either alpha or omicron. (Turner read ] α, and tentatively restored θ] καὶ θεοὶ θε[οιεν]). The final high point can now be interpreted as part of a diacolon.

The same phrase is put in the mouth of the slave Daos at *Georgas* 44–5. Here it may have been spoken by Syra, but this cannot be proved. For the underlying pattern of thought, recurrent in fourth century literature, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 139. It is worth noticing that the phrase is used interchangeably for many/all gods or one only (ἀν θεός θέλη).

Χρυσί(α). It is interesting that in both papyri the same mode of insertion and abbreviation is followed.

I believe that the same character name is written above 148 in 2656. Interlinear *nota*, could be read ]AC ([FET]AC) as well as [TPA]YC (ed. pr., ad loc.). The letter before sigma is most probably upsilon; I see a high dot followed by the top and presumably the middle part of a riser. The short stroke above, given as a horizontal in the edition, should rather be taken as an abbreviation mark. It is roughly the same as what appears above upsilon in 155. If so, it would be out of place had the *nota* been written out in full, as the suggested restorations seem to presume. Therefore ]υε may be restored as [Xρ]υ(α), and so we may give Chrysis a speaking part in 148. That a different way of abbreviating the same name is found in 155 is hardly surprising; '[c]haracter names are not consistent in abbreviation or even in manner of writing' (Turner, op. cit. 6).

The name occurs frequently in Comedy, see K. Schmidt, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 183 and J. C. Austin, *The Significant Name in Terence* 77 f. Her comic namesakes are all hetairai: this is the name of the Samian girl in Menander's *Samia*, of the hetaira in *Eunouchos* (Thais in Terence's play) and of another hetaira in *Kôlax* (fr. 4).<sup>2</sup> The name also occurs at fr. adesp. 71 and 1131.2 KA, but there her status is not clear. The epigraphic evidence attests the name also for upper class Athenian women, see the corresponding entry in *LGN* ii, but most interestingly, we possess evidence of a slave with this name in an inscription of 330 BC, see L. Collins Reilly, *Slaves in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1978) no. 3225. The connection is evident if Chrysis is Krataia's nurse. ἀπιώμεν. See introd.

Κύρα is clear in the new papyrus. θύραξ was originally read in 2656, and has been printed by all editors, despite the syntactic difficulties involved. But this is a misreading, and Κύρα should be read also in 2656. (This reading has been recently suggested also by Arnott, l.c. 34.)

Κύρα is an ethnic slave's name; epigraphic evidence is listed in Collins Reilly, op.cit. nos. 2602–13. Syra appears as a slave's name first in Ar. *Peace* 1146. In Plautus' *Mercator* and *Truculentus*,<sup>3</sup> two plays with Greek prototypes, she is an old slave playing a marginal role in the action. In all other occurrences of the name in Comedy Syra is an old woman, who may originally have had servile status, but she does not always appear in the capacity of a slave. So in Terence's *Heqyra* we have Donatus' testimony (on 59) that she is a *lena*; and there is no reason to think that her character was any different in Apollodoros' *Heqyra* (fr. 8). In Philemon's fr. 117 we know only that she is an old woman. Nothing can be ascertained about Syra in Caec. *Tūtthe* (fr. 223 R<sup>3</sup>), a play generally thought to have been modelled on Menander's homonymous comedy. For the significance of her name, and bibliography, see Austin, op. cit. 81 and n. 10.<sup>4</sup> It emerges that in Greek Comedy the figure of Syra was established as that of an old woman, who may well have been a slave.<sup>5</sup> Her figure was not modified in Roman Comedy. Inscriptions have provided more occurrences of the name, but the possibility that a comic Syra was a respectable married woman is clearly small. None of the other comic Syrae is a *persona muta*—the most notable example is in Ter. *Heqyra*; but, I think, this is not the case here, see introd.

<sup>2</sup> It may also be worth recalling that Handley has hypothesised that Plautus' Bacchis was named Chrysis in *Dis Exapaton* (4407 93–6 n.).

<sup>3</sup> In *Truculentus* the name is Syra, and she is a *tonstrix*, but there is no doubt about her status.

<sup>4</sup> I am not convinced by Austin's view that the name 'was chosen as suggestive of a tricky, rapacious lena' in the same way as the name Syrus was indicative of a wanton slave. Similarly farfetched as Gatzert's assertion that 'Syrae ... saepe lenae videntur fuisse' (ibid.), which is upheld by Austin; his evidence, which can be limited to the *Heqyra*, is too scanty to support it.

<sup>5</sup> This is not contradicted by other occurrences outside Comedy. In Luc. *Dial. meretr.* IV 4 an old woman is Κύρα (Syrian), and is so called. There is no indication about the age of a slave named Syra in Alciphro II 22 Schepers (Cύρα codd.). Theoc. X 26 is a different case.

There is no way of telling whether Chrysis continued in the next verse. There is a hole after the last letter of the verse, which might have contained a diacolon. Arnott, l.c. 34, on the basis of the photograph, observes that 'after the alpha the traces can be interpreted as simply the upper signum of a diacolon'. I cannot quite agree with this: on the papyrus I see a minute horizontal placed high in the line, which may not belong to a letter at all (some flecks of ink below may have reinforced the impression of sigma in the ed. pr., but this is not necessary).

*Pauc* Sandbach, it does not necessarily follow that the two women depart immediately afterwards; indeed, at 157 the third person may be speaking to Chrysis.

156 ] [.] . . . μα . . . η [.] . . . ρτεμ . υ  
[.] ω[μεν[.] [.] . . . θο . αιδενη . . . . . [ 4408  
2656

In the first part, the correspondence is upset by the deleted *μεν* in 2656; it must have been deleted at some stage after copying, as the different ink (greyish, while the scribe used black) indicates. There is no means of telling how far the deleted letters extended to the right; and there is no sign of suprascript letters to replace the deletion. The first letter, partly preserved in the new piece, may well have been α, ε or σ. This would suit Turner's supplement ε]γώ. At the end, Turner had guessed νή τήν Ἄρτεμιν, but thought ἀρτεμιν 'not reconcilable with the faint traces'. The oath occurs exclusively in Comedy and is always used by women, as Artemis was mainly a woman's goddess (at Ar. *Theom.* 517 and 569 Mnesilochus is supposed to speak as a woman). In most cases it is found at verse-ends. In Menander it also appears in *Dysk.* 874. As in *Dyskolos*, for which cf. Sandbach's note, the reason behind its use here is obscure.

Before that, the new piece can easily be read *μαίθε*, in conformity with 2656. Turner suggested ἄχθουμαι; the χθ is in fact virtually certain, but of the alpha nothing survives. This is not excluded by the faint traces in 4408. If it is right, we have only one short syllable or c. 3 letters missing after ε]γώ. If δέ is postponed, we could think of, e.g., ε]γώ [συν]άχθουμαι, a verb which occurs at *Heros* 10. Otherwise, the first short phrase must represent a sentence in itself: I do not see how to restore a verb; ε]γώ γάρ or ε]γώ μὲν would fit the space (though note that *μεν* has been deleted in 2656), but then we should need to assume an apopsiense. Alternatively, we could give up ε]γώ, and look for a verb. If the first letter is α, ε or σ, and the second γ, τ or ψ, we could try e.g. ἔγω γ]άρ or ἔγω[μεν]. But I do not see anything obviously suited to the context.

157 At the beginning 2656 has [.] με[.] [.] ; the initial lacuna may have contained only one letter; the trace after ε is an upright, which would suit τ. If we combine this with what is visible in our piece, we could consider ἤμετε.

The supralinear addition is likely to be another abbreviated *nota personae*. ατ is certain, but it is doubtful whether one or two letters came before, since the traces defy description. The obvious candidate is Κῆρατ(εα).

2656 is badly rubbed, and what I can make out of it cannot be reconciled with what I see in the new fragment. In the palaeographic commentary accompanying 2656 one reads 'Below ενη of 156, possibly ]ν . . . ητ . . . εητ[. With all due caution, after my inspection of 2656, I should modify its reading to ]ν . . . ητ . . . ητ[. ν corresponds to something lost in our papyrus. After that there is a short right-hand curve, likely to belong to μ, α, ω, ε is not unlikely to follow (upper part of its back and both ends of its crossbar only), and seems to join an adjacent upright; this is what was taken as ν in the ed. pr. A long upright slanting to the right comes after, and then . . . τα is probable. All this does not give *μετα*. Likewise, the traces of the four letters after α are not compatible with *τινων*, which is also too long to fit in the space. There is no problem with π[.

π[. The damaged letter is λ or ν. After it one rather than two letters have been lost in the lacuna. π[ν]ε] seems the best restoration. For the expression cf. *Ep.* 755 π[νε] με[τ] ἔκε]ν[η]ς. After that ποτέ goes with τίνων: 'with whom on earth is he drinking?'. ποτέ usually comes immediately after the pronoun, but not always; cf. e.g. fr. 568.1 τίνι δεδοίλωνται ποτε.

158 ε . . . εντ[.] , rather than εντ[.] (not εντ[.] . . . )

]θ' ἄπιστον. There are faint ink flecks above α and a letter above π, which may be sigma. If this supralinear addition is a *nota personae*, Xρ]υ(α) might be considered, but Γέ]ρασ also might suit. However, although the papyrus is very damaged at this point, there is no indication of a diacolon or of the space which should have been left blank on either side if a speaker change had taken place. Alternatively, it may be a correction—but correcting what? The ink above α may belong to the *nota*, but it is also likely that the specks are what remain from an apostrophe written after theta.

The uncertainty about the presence of an elision mark makes it difficult to choose between ]θ' ἄπιστον and ]θα π[ετ[όν. ἐ]ρα[θ]ῆθα, unclined or not, is a possible reading. With ουθ[ following, it is clearly tempting to recognise ἄπιστον οὐδέ, though not inevitable (cf. Ph. 187 οὐδέν οὐδέν). This collocation appears at Men.

fr. 466.1 (ὄγκ' ἔστ') ἄπιτρον οὐδέν, as well as at Bacch. 3. 57, while οὐδέν ἄπιτρον occurs at Xen. *Symph.* 4. 49, *Cyr.* 3. 1. 26, Dem. 1. 23, etc.

οὐδ[έν]. The papyrus has ουθ[ ]; above θ a suprascript letter, broken but strongly suggesting δ. That is, ουθ- was changed to ουδ- (as correction or variant). οὐθέν is found along with οὐδέν in papyri of Menander, and both forms are accepted into the text. Historically, forms with theta took over almost completely from the delta forms by the end of the fourth century in Athens, see L. Thraette, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I 472 ff.

In 2656 traces of six letters near the end of the line are visible. Turner saw traces of only four letters and read ]ουφ[ ], but this is a misreading: the first trace after the edge is an upright, the fourth letter certainly theta, the fifth probably epsilon, while of the sixth there is a minimal trace only. One may thus read ]ουφ[ ], which is not different from the text of our papyrus.

With ουθ[ ] we are near the end of the trimeter, and after it there is room for at most four letters; we might think of οὐδ[έν ἦν (or οὐδ[έν?]). Dr C. F. L. Austin suggests οὐδ[έ ἔν, which 'would explain the correction of ουθ to ουδ, as you can't say οὐθὲ ἔν'.

159 As in the previous verse, there is no coincidence with what is preserved in 159. Since 160 seems to begin in mid-sentence, it is likely that the speech (by Getas?) started in 159 (or even 158). Unfortunately neither papyrus throws any light on this problem.

N. GONIS

#### 4409. NEW COMEDY (?MENANDER)

49 5B.96/D (9-10a)

Fr. 1 13 × 19 cm

Third century

This text, recognisably from a play of New Comedy, is written in a somewhat spreading mixed hand similar in character, among recently published comic fragments, to LIX 3970; but it is more upright. If the parallels quoted there are valid,<sup>1</sup> it should date from the third<sup>2</sup> century AD; for its 'more upright' quality, a fair comparison is VII 1012 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 2289), a treatise on literary composition on the back of a document not earlier than AD 204/5, that has been assigned to about the mid-third century.

Fr. 1 has the remains of 21 iambic trimeters, the first eleven of which have lost at least three elements from their latter half, while the last ten are nearly complete. The back is blank; there is some 5.5 cm of surviving lower margin, which suggests a roll of handsome proportions. Frs 2 and 3, if rightly put together, give ends of 17 lines. It is possible that they (and indeed the scrap represented by fr. 4) are part of one and the same tall column, but without more to go on its height and number of lines can only be imagined.

α is pointed at the left, not rounded; β small and inconspicuous; ε, θ, ο, c are narrow (θ and ο can be very small); the descenders of ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ are long; τ and the rarer ξ and ψ (but not γ) have prominent horizontals; the centre of φ is characteristically flat, not rounded.

Parts are distinguished in the regular way by paragraphos and dicolon. Other lectional signs are sparse: a high point is to be seen at fr. 1, 6 and probably 20; diastole,

<sup>1</sup> Namely XXII 2341, Proceedings before the Prefect, AD 202; II 223, *Iliad* V, on the other side of a petition dated AD 186; and PFlor 255, a letter in the Heroninos archive dated circa 260; these are in Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, nos 19(c), 21(a) and 22(d) respectively.

curved and prominent, at fr. 1, 15, 16, 20 and fr. 2+3, 2, 8, elsewhere abraded or doubtful (fr. 1, 3 and 4); angular rough breathing at fr. 1, 20; trema over iota in *προσίοντ'*, fr. 1, 16 and *προσηλακισθεῖς* 1, 17; perhaps a supralinear hyphen at fr. 1, 4. In fr. 1, 21, a correction, probably made *currente calamo*; and so perhaps in 1, 4 (see n.). Elision is unmarked, fr. 1, 12, and crasis (*ταυτον*), 1, 5; *καὶ ἕτερον* and *καὶ [ο]ῦκ* are in *scriptio plena*, 1, 17-18. There are no accents or other signs of scholarly activity; in fr. 1, 4, whatever he intended at the beginning of the line, the copyist has an uncorrected error at its middle, as the scansion shows.

On examining the content, we enter into a matrimonial tangle which at once recalls that of the *Fabula Incerta* in the Cairo Codex of Menander, in which a Laches is concerned, as here (fr. 1, 12). It is for consideration how the present piece might relate to that play, and indeed to the various other fragmentary comic texts which have from time to time been thought of in connection with it. Given that this set of fragments may well represent (and probably does represent) more than one play, it will be prudent to begin from a summary account of our fr. 1 as viewed in isolation.

Fr. 1, it is plain, represents a dialogue. Laches' partner in the conversation is here called B. At 12 ff., B reproaches Laches for presuming to think of him as a kinsman while taking away from him the daughter who (says Laches) is already betrothed to someone else: he is now arranging the wedding (18-19). B calls for Heaven's help; then, apparently, an interruption by another character is signalled by the sound of a door opening (20-21). What goes before this is less clear. The reproach, one presumes, must have been triggered by the request from Laches partly preserved in 8 f., where he asks that B should call on and discuss with C (the *ἀδελφ* of 8) the strange behaviour of D (the *τοῦτον* of 9). C therefore has a house on stage, and should be the subject of the (incomplete) remark in 6 f., 'No way will he (*ἐκείνός*) come out and [seek to] punish you'. B must accordingly speak at *ταῦτα* in 7, and Laches before that. 1-5 are then lines spoken by B. The recognizable kinship terms 'father ... daughter, brother' are followed by *τοῦτο ἐκβιάσεται*, 'he'll carry it by force' (who will, C or D?); and then, somewhat obscured by gaps and corruption, comes a sententious pronouncement on justice and incompatibility which is what prompts Laches' remark 'That's how you are' (6), and then the request which brings in its train the heated exchange between Laches and B which was our starting point. Damage to the text leaves it unclear how the dialogue was divided in 9-11, for the paragraphoi do not of themselves distinguish lines with change of speaker at the end from those with changes in the middle either instead or as well. Thus if B intervenes in 9, Laches can resume and continue with 10-11; or B can speak 10-11, perhaps beginning at the end of 9, provided that Laches has a short remark at the end of 11, before *ἀλλ' ἀξιοῖς, Λάχην...* in 12. In neither case is it determined whether C or D is the subject of the two third person perfect indicatives in 10-11.

The reconstruction of a sequence of action in *Fab. Inc.* from a fragmentary leaf of the Cairo Codex is subject to a number of uncertainties, as the careful review of earlier

discussions in Gomme-Sandbach makes plain (*Menander: a commentary*, 683 ff.). When the situation becomes relatively clear, at 13 ff., the Laches of the piece, who is addressed by name at 19, 22, 26 and named at 30, is in conversation with a Chaireas, addressed by name at 31, possibly earlier at 5, and named later at 51–2, 59–60. Like our B, Chaireas has (or rather professes to have) a grievance over a woman: namely that the daughter of one Kleainetos, a man who is shortly to appear in the scene (he is addressed by name at 28), has been raped and taken from him by Moschion (13–17, 27–8); Moschion is Laches' son (30, 54; and see Sandbach on 10). This is fiction, and we should perhaps not worry too much whether Chaireas intends to imply that he was married to the girl, or, as seems more likely, betrothed. As emerges later (45–55), Moschion had in fact had a child by Kleainetos' daughter, and had agreed with Kleainetos to marry her, though without the knowledge and consent of Laches, his father and head of the family, and without there being any previous engagement to Chaireas. The effect of this fiction is greatly to blacken Moschion's situation, both by alleging a false grievance against him and by suppressing the consideration that Kleainetos has already agreed to a marriage. Again, since the situation is fictional, we need perhaps not ask here precisely what action (the dispute and the disgrace apart) Laches was supposed to fear from the parties allegedly aggrieved: it is enough that by Chaireas' deft timing it works to make him agree to the marriage in front of Kleainetos the moment it is mentioned: he feels that he has saved his son from serious peril (*φόβων* ... ἐκ[λυτά]μενος, 44 f.), and only with hindsight realises that he has been tricked (63–4). Can our B, C and D be, respectively, Chaireas, Kleainetos and Moschion?

At the cost of complicating matters still further, it seems worth a brief independent review of another fragment, whose connection with the *Fabula Incerta* has from time to time been considered, but is generally disallowed. PSI 1176 (Austin, *CGFP* 255, and Kassel-Austin *PCG* VIII. 1063) is part-marked (so it seems) for delivery by three voices, and could therefore be an excerpt and not a whole text. After the words *κοὶ πε]πιστευκῶς* (so Mette), ending the speech of a character whose identity is to be guessed, the part for Voice no. 1 has what has rightly been recognized as a reflective slave monologue in 23 trochaic tetrameters. The speaker rouses himself 'not to desert Moschion' (4) in the unexpected storm of troubles that has blown up, and makes an elaborate analogy (which some have thought un-Menandrian) with a ship in distress on which all aboard try to help in what way they can.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore Moschion who leaves the stage saying *κοὶ πε]πιστευκῶς*; the slave, having begun by seeing him off into the house with a cheerful 'Carry on, no worries', ends the speech as he sees his old master arriving with a

<sup>2</sup> The long image of seafaring in the slave's monologue now has its parallel in the *Samia* (206, cf. also fr. 656), and self-apostrophe is a well-attested form in Menander, Webster, *Introduction to Menander* (1974) 203, abandoning an earlier ascription to Philemon; but he goes on to rule out *Fab. Inc.* and suggests *Demiourgos*. For self-apostrophe, see Handley-Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Geneva 1990) at pp. 137 ff., and LIX 3967, Menander, *Misoumenos*, as discussed in ed. pr. by Margaret Maehler and by Geoffrey Arnott in the Loeb Menander, vol. 2 (1996) 332 ff.

companion, and hurries inside with the idea of confronting them later at a suitable moment:

.....] δρῶ γὰρ τούτων τὸν δεσπότη[ν  
καὶ τ[ι]ν' [ἐπόμει]νον μετ' αὐτοῦ. θάπτον εἶεμι' ἐνθάδε 22  
παρα]φ[ανήσο]μαί τε τούτοις καιρὸν εὐφύη λαβών.<sup>3</sup>

The old master is Laches, Voice 3; the companion who addresses him is Voice 2. Like our B, and like the Chaireas of *Fab. Inc.*, Voice 2 has a grievance: he has been insulted more gravely than anyone ever by being sent by Laches to convey to his son a parental message about marrying, and also to betroth his daughter. He had anticipated problems; and evidently he has met them.<sup>4</sup> We cannot say how far he went in developing this subject before the slave makes the interruption that was foreshadowed in his exit-line. One insult must presumably lie in Moschion's refusal to contemplate the marriage proposed for him, and another, perhaps, in the refusal of the daughter's proposed husband to accept her. Whether Voice 2 has proposed himself as an alternative son-in-law and been rejected, we cannot here legitimately guess; that there is some considerable confusion in the family follows from the slave's impassioned word-picture of the storm, and may be confirmed by the mention of 'the mother' (never mind whose) in the remains of line 33. Can the aggrieved Voice 2 be the same as the Chaireas of *Fab. Inc.* and/or the same as B in our present fragment?

That the three pieces are closely related in motif is plain; but that is far from making them parts of the same play, to echo a verdict by Koerte (*Hermes* 72 (1937) at p. 73) on III 429 (Austin, *CGFP* 266; *PCG* VIII. 1010), another candidate for identification with the *Fabula Incerta*. It must be noted furthermore that the total extent of the three pieces, and the discernible content that they have in common fall a long way short of giving us a picture of a whole play. With the recovery of most of the *Samia*, we are well placed to observe how a situation, and the characters' reaction to it and to each other can be manipulated to show different facets to the audience as the play develops. Such considerations, and the reflection, in some words of Sir Eric Turner's, that 'Menander has not lost his capacity to surprise us', can reasonably be held to encourage the formation of hypotheses; they do not entitle us to substitute hypotheses for facts.

That said, we may attempt to show in outline how PSI 1176, the present fragment and *Fab. Inc.* could go together in that order, without either claiming decisively that they do, or that such a collocation can of itself explain all the detailed problems of these fragmentary and disputed remains.

<sup>3</sup> For 22 (so *exempli gratia*) note *Dysk.* 558 f. παραλήφομαι τὸ μεράκιον τούτῳ ... καὶ τὸν θεράποντ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> φέροντα περὶ γάμου 'bringing [a message] about his marrying' (not 'about his marriage'); note the third century examples from the Zenon archive in LSJ s.v. φέρω, A IV. 4; θυγατέρα without more specification should be Laches' daughter, not Chaireas' daughter; λαμβάνειν I take to mean simply 'marry', i.e. marry Laches' nominee, whoever she was, not marry his sister.

(i) PSI 1176: Moschion is in trouble. A slave of the household resolves to help his young master, and waits for a moment when he can intervene with Laches (recently returned from abroad), and Chaireas, who had previously been sent to arrange marriages both for the son, Moschion, and for the daughter of the house. Chaireas complains that this commission has been an unparalleled insult to him.

(ii) The present fragment starts from the position that there is cause for dissension between D (Moschion) and C (Kleainetos) over Moschion's *ἀπορία*, his unacceptable behaviour. The basis for this, as seen by Laches, will have been the continuation of the dialogue with Chaireas which begins in PSI 1176 in col. ii at line 24, and seems to continue with the same speakers in col. iii: at 46, the line-beginning *ὦ πράγμα* [from Laches (Voice 3) suggests a strong emotional reaction to what he hears. Here, having remarked that differences are not to be reconciled by ignoring them, Chaireas is asked to intervene. He protests that he is being expected to act like a kinsman while being refused marriage with Laches' daughter. The refusal must be part of the unparalleled insult complained of in PSI 1176, and is now restated. Before Chaireas can do more than pray for Heaven's help, there is an interruption. The slave of PSI 1176, perhaps induced by raised voices of the pair, has found his anticipated moment. What he contributed to the situation we cannot tell. He must in effect have made it seem worse.

(iii) In *Fab. Inc.*, Chaireas embroiders, in whatever way he does, the Moschion/Kleainetos situation; he elaborates the fiction of his engagement to Kleainetos' daughter, and the injustice he has suffered from Moschion's taking her by force. When Laches remarks *τί οὖν; ἀνδάνει τὴν ἐμὴν ἔχειν θυγατέρα*; 'What? Are you renouncing my daughter?' (17 f.) he is, by a splendid comic irony, referring to the persistent and rejected claim of which we have heard earlier, which Chaireas could hardly pursue if involved in the way he now describes: he is in danger of being caught in his own trap.<sup>5</sup> Laches is too worried to be suspicious, and when Kleainetos appears, he is bluffed into expressing approval for Moschion's marriage. When the fiction is exposed, Laches cries out loud at the way he has been manipulated. Kleainetos, for all the impression of him given to Laches by Chaireas, must to some extent have gone along with a plot to present Moschion's marriage to Laches in such a way that he could not withhold approval: disapproval, if lines 40 ff. are rightly so interpreted, is what he had been sure he would meet. At no great distance, if it belongs at all, may come the betrothal scene with a Chaireas and Moschion given by XXXI 2533 (Austin, *CGFP* 251; *PCG* VIII. 1098); the content we are discussing may then cover Act V and part of Act IV of the play, with Laches coming into the play relatively late, as does Sostratos' father Kallippides in *Dyskolos*; but of that, and of other more marginal possibilities (Moschion, Laches and

<sup>5</sup> Editors differ over taking *τί οὖν*; separately, as here, or taking the question as a single utterance; but in either case 'as an offer to Chaireas of Laches' daughter the sentence is abrupt; it might be clearer if the play were complete'; so Sandbach ad loc. That puts it mildly. If Chaireas really were refusing the match, the motivation is hard to fathom.

Chaireas are all quite common names), no more can be said here.<sup>6</sup> If we really are dealing with a play that survived in several copies of the kind represented by the fragments associated with it, it is likely to have been a famous one; the pity is that, so far as I can see, the present piece contributes no new data to the arguments over its possible title.

I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for the opportunity to produce a draft presentation of this text for the 21. Internationaler Papyrologenkongress, Berlin, 13–19. August 1995, and to colleagues there for discussions from which improvements and clarifications have come.

<sup>6</sup> In XXXI 2533. 1 f., I should read *οὐκ ἐστὶ, μὰ τὸν Ἥφαιστον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶ μοι ἰ ἀφεκ]τέον δῆπουθεν ἢ ἐρῶ πάλα[ε*, in preference to the *ἀπολειπ]τέον* of ed.pr.

## Fr. 1

1 πατ[. . . . .]μηθ[. . .] // // // //  
 2 θυγατ[. . . .]λφοα . . // // // //  
 3 τουτ' ἐκβιάσεται[. . .]γ[. . .]  
 4 δίκαι' α μηκυμφερεμηδε[  
 5 εισταυτοναμφοτερου[. .][. .]  
 6 [.]υτωσεχεις ουμηκολαζε[  
 7 . . . w . σεξελθωνσε: ταυτ[.  
 8 εισωβ . . ιασαυτω[. .]ελθεσω[  
 9 τηνατοπιαντουτου[. .]ποη[  
 10 εσχηκενεξελθωντι[.  
 11 προσγεγονεναυτωιταυτατ[. . .]  
 12 αλλαξιοιλαχηςμεκηδεστη . ε[.  
 13 αφελομενοςμετηνσεαυτου . νγ[  
 14 εγωγαραξιωτιννηφθ . γγομαι :  
 15 καιτινωποτ' οφειπροσσεαυτ . νο[.  
 16 ψυχημπροσιοντ' ηπροσει[. .][. .]ε[.  
 17 προπηλακισθεισκαιετερο . α[.]την[  
 18 ηδηγαρηγγυηκακαι[. . .]νεστι[  
 19 αλλωσγενεσθαικ . ιπωγαμουσ . [.  
 20 ωζενυνοιθ' δδειγενεσθαι . καιθε[.  
 21 .]ν . ουσπαρωντισκυλλαβοι[. . .][π]φε[

1 [.] , foot of a vertical

3 κ on twisted fibres; ]γ or ]π, perhaps followed by ε and another round letter

4 There is displacement, but apparently space and trace of diastole after -α; high ink before μ does not suggest a letter, may perhaps be supralinear hyphen: see 4093.14 and note there

7 There is some distortion at a break: ἐκείνος suits

9 Between τουτου and ποη, allowing for distortion, there seems to be space for more than two letters; perhaps a dicolon plus two, the second apparently with a high curved top: ? ε

10 τμ[ (?)

15 [.] , trace of high ink

16 -εσπει[-, with nothing lost, is possible

17 ετερο, then a descender on twisted fibres, then an upright, abraded at top

18 ]ν is credible; then upright and trace of arms for κ; next, foot of a round letter

19 αλ- (suggested by Wolfgang Luppe) rather than κα-; [.] trace of a letter, perhaps ε or ζ; or of a dicolon?

20 High ink for punctuation or dicolon; may be random. θεω[ν rather than θεό[ς

21 [.] , vertical and round letter; then apparently φ written over π; ψοφεί would do; but what before it? Punctuation? A dicolon? (It cannot be said if the line had a paragraphos or not). Or [τ]ίς?

## Fr. 1

1 (B) πατή[ρ . . . .]μηθ[. . .] // // // //  
 2 θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφός, α . . // // // //  
 3 τοῦτ' ἐκβιάσεται[. . .]γ[. . .]  
 4 δίκαι' ἂ μηκυμφερε μηδὲ [  
 5 εἰς ταῦτον ἀμφοτέρου[. .][. .]  
 6 (Λα.) [ο]ὔτως ἔχεις· οὐ μὴ κολάζειν  
 7 ἐκείνος ἐξελθὼν σε: (B) ταῦτ[. . .] : (? Λα.) εὐ δὲ  
 8 εἶσω βαδίσας αὐτῷ [δί]ελθε σω[φρόνων  
 9 τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦτου: ?] [.] . ποη[- . .] : (? Λα.)  
 10 ἔσχηκεν ἐξελθὼν τι[.  
 11 προσγένονεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα τ[. . .]  
 12 (B) ἀλλ' ἀξιοίς, Λάχης, με κηδεστήν ἔχ[ειν  
 13 ἀφελόμενος με τὴν σεαυτοῦ θυγ[άτερα];  
 14 (Λα.) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀξίῳ τι νῦν ἢ φθέγγομαι; :  
 15 (B) καὶ τίν ποτ' ὄψει πρὸς σεαυτὸν ὁ χ[αλεπὸς  
 16 ψυχήμ με προσιόντ'; ἢ προσεπέει[ν ε' ὑπομενῶ  
 17 προπηλακισθείς, χᾶτέρου τ[α]ύ[την] [δράων];  
 18 (Λα.) ἦ δὲ γὰρ ἠγγύηκα, κ[ο]ῖκ ἔνεστι [νῦν  
 19 ἄλλως γενέσθαι, καὶ ποῶ γάμουσ ἐ[γ]ώ.  
 20 (B) ὦ Ζεῦ γένοιθ' ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ θεῶ[ν  
 21 ε]ὔνους παρῶν τις κυλλαβοί—ψοφεί[ι] δέ τις

(B) Father ... daughter, brother ... he will carry it by force ... justice; (?) those things that are discordant [?should not be brought] together, but [?take account] of each (5).

Laches So that's how you feel. No chance he will [?be keen to] come out and reprove you.

(B) (?) Quite so.

Laches Go inside, and calmly go through the man's strange behaviour with him.

(B) He has done [dreadful things].

Laches [Perhaps] he had some [bad mood on him] when he went out (10), [and then] this happened to him as well...

(B) But Laches, do you expect to have me as your son-in-law, when you have taken your daughter away from me?

Laches Am I expecting anything, or saying anything?

(B) And with what feelings will you see me come near you, [hard as you are on me] (15)? Shall I [be able to bear] to speak to you, after being insulted and [seeing] her as someone else's?

Laches I have agreed the betrothal, and it cannot now be otherwise; and I am preparing for the wedding.

(B) O Zeus, let be what must be, and may some god (20) be kind and help—[but] there's a noise [of someone coming].

1 Perhaps πατή[ρ δέ, μάμ]μη, θ[ε]ο[ς] ...; προμ[ί]μη would be too long.

4f Possibly ἄ μὴ συνέφερε—an easy mistake in handwriting of this kind; and then continue μὴδὲ συνίθαι | εἰς ταύτων, ἀμφοτέρου [δ]ε τ[ὸ] κείον κόσπει, or τῆν φύσιν σέβου or the like. The collocation of οὕτως ἔχει (6) with this gnomic pronouncement recalls *Dysk.* 379 f. οὕτως ἔχω· παραποθανεῖν ἦδη με δεῖ | ἢ ζῆν ἔχοντα τῆν κόρην.

6 E.g. κολάζει[ω σπουδάει], to account for the οὐ μὴ.

7 See the Introduction above: B must take up at ταῦτα, but may say no more than ταῦτα δὴ 'Quite so', leaving Laches to preface his command with εὐ δέ.

9 Again, as in 7, the line may divide internally, to give a preface to the abrupt ἔσχηκεν of 10. A short syllable is called for after τοῦτον: perhaps therefore something like [(B) π]επ[ό]η[κε δέιν]. (Aa.) ἴσω...

10 If Laches is the speaker, as I suppose, one might expect some kind of an excuse: e.g. (on the lines of *Dysk.* 125 f. 'perhaps he's upset') ἔσχηκεν ἐξελθὼν τῷ ὀργῆν, 'he left home angry ... and then this happened ...'; cf. *Dysk.* 53 ἢ τοῦτ' ἐβεβούλευτ' ἐξιών, ἐρᾶν τινος;

18 f. [ν]ον | ἄλλωσ (or [ξ]τι | ἄλλωσ) Luppe: τὸντ' or ταῦτ' (with elision as at S. *OT* 332–3) Rudolf Kassel; or ἔνεστ' ἴ[σ]ωσ (ἴσωσ as at *Dysk.* 730)? 19 end: or ξ[ι]τι?

21 The φροφεί is not free from doubt, but the noise of opening doors often short-circuits a development which the dramatist would rather not continue: e.g. *Dysk.* 689 f. *Ephr.* 554 f./874 f.

Fr. 2 + 3

1	] τω . [
2	] τ' ἦ [
3	] . ειν [
4	] . μ . [
5	] . ιτρ [ . ] π . [
6	] στουτ [
7	] . ειδετις :
8	] . σεστ' αρ . [
9	] . γθεων [
10	] . θυμαα [
11	] ορει
12	] .
13	] ταντατις :
14	] . ι :
15	] ε
16	] . ου
17	] αλη

fr. 2 + 3: in 7, the second ε of ειδετις is shared between the joined fragments.

1 Last is foot of a vertical

3 A vertical, quite likely ι

4 Verticals either side of μ, as for ε]ιμζ or ἦμζ]ν

5 Descending oblique before ι, as for κ]αί τρ[ό]π[η]σ[-], across the join

6 E.g. ἀστ]ό τούτ[ο]

7 ], mid-line ink, as for ν]οεῖ, π]οεῖ or the like; at end, faint trace of a low dot suggests dicolon

9 E.g. πρὸς τ]ῶν θεῶν; above the ω, a particle of loose papyrus with ink

12 High dot of ink, top of dicolon or part of ψ?

14 ], end of horizontal for ]εῖ or ]τῖ

16 ], end of oblique, as for ]λ

Fr. 4

1	] . [
2	] . [ . ] . [
3	] καιν . [
	. . .

Fr. 4

3 Third is a vertical more like ι than part of ε, last also a vertical; if so crasis of και with (e.g.) ἔγνηε or a cognate; or υλόε; or ὑπέρε; or what?

E. W. HANDLEY

#### 4410. COMEDY?

87/348(a)

Fr. 2 4.5 × 11.5 cm

Second century

The fragments published under this number and the next came from Mr Lobel in four folders, and the number of manuscripts represented is unclear. But two hands may be distinguished, and I have distributed the fragments between **4410** and **4411** accordingly. Both are accomplished and fairly large specimens of the calligraphic round upright strictly bilinear style conventionally known as 'Roman Uncial,' but the script of the pieces collected under **4410** is slightly larger, with slightly less interlinear space (so that in both scripts a given number of lines will occupy the same amount of vertical space, 7 cm for ten lines) but somewhat more generous lateral spacing. Other more or less consistent differences are also discernible, and may be taken as indicating different scribes. In **4410** ε's midstroke occupies a medial or lower position, whereas in **4411** it stands higher, usually in contact with the tip of the upper arc; ε's upper arc descends less far in **4410**, while in **4411** the letter tilts forward; the style's characteristically deep μ has more strongly curved legs in **4410**; π's top extends either side, whereas in **4411** it is more confined; ρ has a larger cirlet; τ's cross-bar is equidistant either side, while in **4411** it tends to be shorter to the left; α is more widely splayed and straight-backed. Both hands add light ornamentation. Both may be dated in the second century, I would judge around the middle. **4411** might be put earlier on the basis of the closed epsilon, but I am doubtful of that as a criterion. (The development of the style is traced by Cavallo, *ASNP* ser. 2 36 (1967) 209–20, with the qualifications of *Scriptorium* 26 (1972) 73 n. 10, Turner *GMAW* no. 13 n., Parsons, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379.)

The paragraphos and the double-point jointly used to signal (presumably) speaker-change are both exceptionally small. The only other punctuation in evidence is a stop

in middle position (fr. 2.3), and the only other lectional sign an apparent grave accent (again fr. 2.3). Unobtrusive correction of orthography occurs at fr. 2.4 and 14, of apparent scribal error at fr. 3.6, all perhaps but not certainly by the first hand. Of the upper margin 3.3 cm. survives on fr. 1. The back is blank.

A premium-grade product such as this should carry a work of high literature. Drama is clearly indicated by the speaker-changes marked in fr. 1, 3 and 4, and the language and action of fr. 1 smack perhaps of Old Comedy. The other pieces are less revealing. Satyr-play should perhaps not be excluded, but I see nothing favouring such an assignment over comedy.

I am most grateful to Dr C. F. L. Austin and Professor E. W. Handley for their help with this number and the next.

## Fr. 1

] . ιουτασκώμματα [   
 ] προβακατωτερω: [   
 ] κουκα[.] . [ ] [   
 ] . [ ] . [ ] . υ [

1 ] . , c, θ (ε, ο)

3, 4 Fibres loose and deranged; a few specks might belong to a subsequent line or lines

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
] ος . [.] . ων[	_____	] . ησετ[
] γονδυς[	_____	] . η: cv[
] ουτ . ν . ει[	_____	] μ . [
] κώουμει [	_____	_____
5 ] καγ . ελο[	_____	_____
] οντομμη[	5 _____	_____
] αννωι . ν[	_____	_____
] ωτην . [	_____	_____
] τοικ . [	_____	_____
10 ] θεραπο[	_____	_____
] των[	10 _____	_____
] . οκα . [	_____	_____
] ακατ[	_____	_____
] η' c . [	_____	_____

Fr. 2 Not certainly column top. There is a certain amount of casual scattered ink throughout the fragment. 2 Above δ is what may be a cancellation dot, and the letter may have been lightly crossed through, but there is much scattered ink in the vicinity; an apostrophe (and a trema on the υ) is also possible 3 τ . υ, mostly hole, space and trace suitable for ο 5 γ . , foot suitable for γ 7 Between ι and υ[ , mostly or wholly blank, perhaps a stop 8 . [ , extreme left of υ? 9 . [ , ε or θ 14 . [ , perhaps a middle stop, then a supralineation, a rough breathing?

Fr. 3 11 . [ ρ?

Fr. 4 1 ] . , broken right of π? 2 ] . , δ, λ, or α 3 . [ ο or ω

Fr. 5	Fr. 6	Fr. 7	Fr. 8
] υμαχο . [	] c . [	] τυ: . [	] . ηc[
] ναντε . [	] ρμεδια . [	] ωπ[	] [

Fr. 5 1 ] υ, a trace above, perhaps from the previous line ο . [ ο diminished, what follows suggests the left side of an equally diminished c 2 . [ , an upright on the edge

Fr. 6 1 . [ , ε or θ 2 . [ , stem of τ?

Fr. 7 1 . [ , stem of γ?

## Fr. 1

Iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters. The relatively even line-ends perhaps favour the shorter.

1 Probably οδ or cou before τὰ κώμματα. If the former, preceded perhaps by a noun in -cuc (cf. Eur. *El.* 941 for the structure?). Generically self-referential mention of κώμματα would be at home in a comic parabasis (Aristoph. *Nub.* 542, cf e.g. *Vesp.* 1289, *Pax* 736-61), but not exclusively there.

2 'Go on further down.' E.g. καὶ would provide a caesura. προβα only Aristoph. *Ach.* 262 (trimeter) and Eur. *Alc.* 872 (lyric). κατωτέρω Aristoph. *Ran.* 70, 1384, Alexis fr. 177.2, 3 K-A.

3 κού κατωτέρω one possibility.

## Fr. 2

If iambics (or trochaics), we may be in the vicinity of the caesura, or else one metron further along.

3 τούτου, τοιοῦτου? Similarly θ, unless there οδ τόν, which I do not think probable.

4 οδ] κ ὄϊου likelier than Κώϊου (in whatever sense)? The adscript is explicable in either case. Then με might give a 4th-foot caesura.

7 κερ] αννώι here would cohere with α]θερα in 10, but there are other good possibilities for either place (e.g. 7 χ] αννώι, 10 θεραπ-), and several comic playwrights have a Πόρανος attested for them (Euphanes, Aristophan, Alexis).

## Fr. 3

Iambics? And since there appear to be no speaker identifications—but the break comes too close to the line-beginnings for certainty—we may perhaps infer only two speakers.

6 The lambda is a subsequent addition. If e.g. ἀλγείτ rather than e.g. ἀλγείων the slip (assuming it to be such) is the more readily explicable.

## Fr. 5

1 ναύμαχος, θρασύμαχος, a proper name?

The demination of the last two extant letters, presumably the last letters of the line, is somewhat surprising in a verse text, where the inherent variability of the line lengths normally relieves the scribe of the concern to achieve a justified right margin. In prose texts the practice is common; V 844 (Isocrates), another calligraphic Roman Uncial manuscript, shows the regularity that can be attained. What makes this case still odder is the fact that the next line must have been longer, unless, as Handley suggests, the present line extended further (e.g. -]μαχος [τυ ων). 4411 seems to show the same phenomenon (fr. 90.9).



4411. OLD COMEDY

87/349, 350(a), and 351

Fr. 2 5.5 × 8 cm

Second century

These fragments are written in a Roman Uncial rivalling the Hawara Homer in elegance and fineness of execution; see the introduction to 4410. It cannot be regarded as assured that all the pieces are of a single manuscript, and special doubt attaches to some of the contents of folder 351 (fr. 84–95), but I see nothing that would seriously tell against an assumption that at least most of the fragments come from the same work. As with 4410, it is clear that the text is Attic drama, and again ascription to Old Comedy seems indicated. The diction in general is suggestive of comedy rather than tragedy; expressions recognizable with varying degrees of probability include ὦ μέλεε (fr. 23.3) and ὦναξ Ἰ[ράκλειε (fr. 26.3); we have βοιβού[ε at fr. 41.2, perhaps ἐλλέ]βορισα(-) at fr. 72.1, and a good chance of the word ψωλόε at fr. 42.3; the high-flown ἀστραπηφορ[ε at fr. 2.5 will be paratragic. Most if not all of the fragments are or may be iambic trimeter or trochaic tetrameter, with frequent resolution and frequent change of speaker within the line; but it looks as if other metres are to be recognized in fr. 1, fr. 2 and fr. 18, cf. also fr. 6, 11, 23. I have not managed to find anything favouring attribution to any particular play or playwright, nor can I make any solidly based suggestion as to overall subject-matter.

The scribe applies accents and breathings with discrimination (fr. 5.1, fr. 6.5, fr. 7.2, fr. 9.4, etc.), and often but it seems not invariably (fr. 15.2, fr. 23.5, fr. 36.2) marks elision. Punctuation is by high-middle point. Also in evidence are the double point and the paragraphus, used (presumably) in conjunction to signal speaker change, as is conventional. Cancellations of single letters are discreetly effected by lightly crossing through the letter and placing a dot above (fr. 1.4, fr. 15.2, fr. 48.1, all orthographical). It appears to be the scribe himself who has made the corrections, and I see no sign of textual intervention by a second hand. There are however a few remnants of annotations, by I think more than one hand (fr. 7, fr. 61, fr. 3.3). The lower margin appears to have been at least 6.5 cm (fr. 8, similarly fr. 1, fr. 14), in keeping with the de luxe quality of the manuscript. Of the upper, 2.5 cm survives on fr. 4. The back is blank, which is to say, this splendid manuscript was not reused.

Other comedy manuscripts in Roman Uncial, none of them however by this particular hand, are PSI XI 1212 (Cratinus), XXXVII 2807 (Old Comedy), and LIX 3972 (comedy).

Fr. 1

[ . ] δα . . [ . ]  
[ κολιαι [ . ]  
[ εαγραιε [ . ]  
[ εκ βα [ ι ] ε [ . ]

Fr. 2

] αι [ . ]  
] ναι [ . ]  
] ωμασεμ [ . ]  
] εσοτας [ . ]

Fr. 3

] . . [ . ]  
] πωρεν [ . ]  
] αυτωικ [ . ]

5 ] ζαιε [ . ]  
] υκνωμα [ . ]

5 ] αστραπηφο [ . ]  
] υδων [ . ]  
] . . . αιομματα [ . ]  
] επασδει . . . [ . ]  
] . απορω [ . ]  
10 ] ρομενο [ . ]  
] . [ . ]

Fr. 1–41 are from folder 87/350  
Fr. 1 1 . . . [ , lower part of upright, foot of oblique 4 ] . , letter-top dot or tip of horizontal  
Between κ and ρ (loop only) a medium-sized letter, abraded  
Fr. 2 5 [ , letter-top speck, broken below 7 ] . . . , two isolated letter-foot traces, then lower parts and upper right speck of ?χ, rather narrow for κ [ . , upright with suggestion of horizontal at top, γ, π? 8 . . . [ , scattered remains on damaged surface 9 ] . , upright, clear at top, ι or ν suggested  
After 6, fibres damaged, but apparently blank  
Fr. 3 Line beginnings, with vestiges of marginalia immediately to the left of 3, perhaps a tiny ]' with ]o below. Paragraphi uncertain. . 2 [ . o or ε

Fr. 4 ] ε δωσεις γαρ δικη [ ν  
] υχιδωσεις αλ . γ . [ . ο ] δχι δώσεις αλλά νθ [ ν  
] . ρων ματο [ . ] . ρων . — μά το [ . ] λατηγγ . [ . ]

Fr. 5 ] εντιουδε [ . ]  
] . σεστινη [ . ]  
] υκληρο [ . ]

Fr. 4 3 [ . , γ or τ 4 ] . , letter-foot speck [ . , oblique descending from upper left, υ suggested, α, λ not excluded  
Fr. 5 2 [ . , upper right of arc, α, ω

Fr. 6

] . [ . ]  
] . νου [ . ]  
] συνιησθακ [ . ]  
] λελαθ : α [ . ]

Fr. 7

] [ . ]  
] τρατη [ ] αα . [ . ]  
] . νεε [ ] [ . ]  
] [ . ]

[ . ]  
[ . ]  
[ . ]  
εω . [ . ]

5 ]  $\overline{\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\alpha}$  [ ]  $\overline{\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\tau}$  [ ]  
 ] . [ . ] ις [ ]  
 ] . [ ]

Fr. 6 This fragment more resembles fr. 84 95 in appearance: the writing gives a slightly blurred impression, owing in part to an apparently worn nib and in part to subsequent abrasion <sup>2</sup> ], two arcs on the line, first perhaps  $\mu$ , second  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ? <sup>3</sup> ], apparent oblique rising from end of lower leg of  $\kappa$   
<sup>4</sup> ], upper right of  $\epsilon$ ? Double point doubtful; but apostrophe not suggested <sup>5</sup> ], left hasta of  $\nu$ ? <sup>6</sup> ],  $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$ ? <sup>7</sup> Perhaps  $\mu$ , otherwise two letters

Fr. 7 Column top, apparently <sup>1</sup> ], lower and upper left tips of  $\mu$ ?

Fr. 8 Fr. 9 Fr. 10  
 ] ω [ ] . [ . ] ος . . [ ] αλλ [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota\tau}$  [ ] η :  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa}$  [ ] η . —  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa}$  [ ] ουδ [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\xi\iota\tau\alpha}$  [ ]  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\delta^{\delta}\epsilon\delta\epsilon\xi}$  [ ]  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\delta^{\delta}\epsilon\delta\epsilon\xi\omega}$  [ ] απα [ ]  
 ] :  $\overline{\mu\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\mu}$  [ ] —  $\overline{\mu\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\mu}$  [ ]  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\eta}$  [ ]  
 5 ]  $\overline{\pi\omicron\iota}$  . . [ ]

Fr. 8 <sup>1</sup> ],  $\mu$ ? [ ], tallish upright on edge,  $\iota$ ?

Fr. 9 Perhaps in alignment with fr. 3

Fr. 10 <sup>5</sup> . . [ ], upper parts of  $\alpha\nu$ ?

Fr. 11 Fr. 12 Fr. 13 Fr. 14  
 ]  $\overline{\nu\gamma\alpha\rho\pi}$  [ ] ουταψ [ ]  
 ] ωφανερω [ ] ως [ ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ ] τ ουτ [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha}$  [ ] πα [ ] άν [ ] τησγαρ [ ]  
 ] ολμησει [ ] . ε [ . ] . ου [ ]  $\overline{\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\nu\omega}$  [ ]  
 5 ]  $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\tau\omicron}$  [ ] . . . [ ]

Fr. 11 <sup>1</sup> [ ], base of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ? <sup>5</sup> Between  $\alpha\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron$  a dot, casual rather than a stop or separator?

Fr. 13 Two small fragments which range horizontally; the central gap (2 [ ] etc) may be wider than shown <sup>2</sup> ά, supposed accent a speck in appropriate position with hole to right [ ], trace at letter-top level

Fr. 14 Evidently line beginnings

Fr. 15 Fr. 16  
 ]  $\overline{\nu\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma}$  [ ] αλλου [ ]  
 ] ταποστ [ ] ις [ ]  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\delta}$  [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\tau\omicron\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu}$  [ ]  $\overline{\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon}$  [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\epsilon\gamma\omega\phi}$  [ ]  
 5 ]  $\overline{\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma}$  [ ]

Fr. 15 <sup>2</sup> ], upright on edge <sup>3</sup> ], upper part of upright

Fr. 16 <sup>5</sup> ], double point? upper and lower serifs of upright?

Fr. 17 Fr. 18 Fr. 19  
 ]  $\overline{\epsilon\nu}$  . . [ ]  $\overline{\mu\iota\zeta\omega}$  . [ ] . [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha\rho}$  [ ]  $\overline{\iota\tau\alpha\iota}$  . [ ] γ [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\iota\chi^{\theta}\theta\epsilon}$  . [ ]  $\overline{\varsigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma}$  [ ]  $\overline{\epsilon}$  [ ]  
 ] .  $\overline{\tau\rho}$  [ ] [ ] μ [ ]  
 5 ] . [ . ] . [ ]

Fr. 17 <sup>3</sup> ], upper right of  $\epsilon$  or  $\rho$

Fr. 18 <sup>1</sup> ], lower part of upright

[ ], hooked foot of upright

<sup>2</sup> ],  $\epsilon$  suggested, otherwise  $\theta$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\varsigma$

<sup>3</sup>  $\epsilon$  [ ], or  $\omicron$

Fr. 20 Fr. 21 Fr. 22  
 ] τα [ ]  
 ] . [ ] γ [ ] . . . .  $\overline{\epsilon}$  [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\nu\tau}$  [ ]  $\overline{\mu\omicron\iota\delta}$  [ ]  
 ]  $\overline{\delta\omicron}$  [ ]  $\overline{\xi\omicron\delta}$  [ ]

Fr. 22 <sup>1</sup> ] . . . . , lower parts of letters: upright;  $\epsilon$  or  $\varsigma$ ; two uprights e.g.  $\iota\tau$

Fr. 23 Fr. 24 Fr. 25  
 ]  $\overline{\omicron\eta}$  [ ]  $\overline{\tau\omicron}$  [ ]  $\overline{\alpha\lambda}$  [ ]  
 ] [ ]  $\overline{\omicron\iota\mu}$  [ ]  $\overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon}$  [ ]

	]ωμέλε[	κα[	—[
	]ου'εστη[	σα[	
5	]καίση[		

Fr. 23 1 ], foot of apparent upright  
Fr. 24 4 ], upper left tip as of τ, υ

3 ], slightly curving upright

## Fr. 26

	]μ[	]μ[
	]μοιτῶμ.ρα[	]μοι τῶ μ<ε>ιρα[κ-
	]ς.ω.αξ.[	]ς. — ὠγαξ η[
	]ν:ουχο.οντ.[	]ν. — οὐχ οἶόν τε.[
5	]χρεινὲδδηβ.[	]χρειν εὐ δδηβ.[
	]ς.[.]ιτασς[	]ς.[.]ιτασς[

2 μ, ρ, letter-foot speck, space suitable for υ, hardly for ν 3 ]ς, or ε? then parts of two uprights, ν?  
[, broken upright, foot of another upright, unclear whether one letter or two 4 Above first ο, an  
unexplained mark like a flattened τ 5 ], letter-top speck suitable for i.a. υ, λ, ρ, not c 6 ], first  
lower left arc, ε?, second foot of apparent upright 5 ], ε or ο 6 ], top of π? ], δ, λ, α

## Fr. 27

## Fr. 28

## Fr. 29

]ιουδ[	]ςπερε.[.]αχ.[	ηρε[
]φ[	]πο.λω:[	και[
	]κακο.[	αυτ[
	] [	

Fr. 27 1 ], θ, ο or c

2 ], ο, ε, θ

Fr. 28 1 ], serif at foot, serified foot of upright, suitable for ιτ 3 ], trace of apparent arc as of  
ε, ο, not α

Fr. 29 1 ε], or θ] 3 ε, or λ

## Fr. 30

## Fr. 31

## Fr. 32

] [	] [	] [
]δ'ε.[	] τουνν.[	]εν [
] [	] [	

Fr. 30 2 ], χ suggested

Fr. 31 1 ], perhaps ]νδ[

2 ], compatible with ν

## Fr. 33

## Fr. 34

## Fr. 35

] [	... ο[	] [
]δομνοι[	επε.[	]σκοπει[
] [	[	]ωφρασσω[
]..[	[	

Fr. 33 4 Two specks, unclear whether letter-tops or not; 2 may be column foot

Fr. 34 1 Letter feet, of uncertain distribution 2 ], θ or c suggested

Fr. 35 Top of column?

## Fr. 36

## Fr. 37

## Fr. 38

]μματ[	]ουδ[	]αδ.[
]λλαιδυπ[	]εινα.[	]εγο.[
	] [	
	] [	
	] [	

Fr. 38 1 ], foot of ι?

2 ο looks like c, could be ε?

3 ], letter-top speck, τ or υ?

## Fr. 39

## Fr. 40

## Fr. 41

]ο[	]ας[	] [ ] [ ] [
]αα[	]αλλ[	]βολβο.[
]αυτ[	]ολ[	]ατιθ.[
]αει[		
5 ]ου[		

Fr. 41 1 Final trace hooked foot of upright 2 ], upright, clear at top, ι? 3 ], high hooked  
trace, upsilon? 3 ], edge of apparent arc, ε?

Fr. 42	Fr. 43	Fr. 44
]πλην.[	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ποτε[	] . ωπα.[	] . [ . ] . . [
]ψωλο[	] . ροσηκο[	] . κανειη[
]κατ[	] . καιτυφ.[	] . μενη·δε[
. . . . .	] . [ . ] . . [	] . ν . [

Fr. 42-83bis are from folder 87/349. I see nothing except their generally greater scrappiness that distinguishes them from fr. 1-42.

Fr. 42 Not certainly column top 1 [ , ε or θ

Fr. 43 1 ] , foot of τ?

Fr. 44 4 ] , ε or θ 2 ο[ , ε not excluded 3 ] , top perhaps of ο, ε, θ; λ excluded

Fr. 45	Fr. 46	Fr. 47
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]τε[	]καλ.[	] . [
] . [	]τιπ . . [	]υςβω[
. . . . .	. . . . .	] . ω[

Fr. 46 1 ] , lower left of ε, ο, θ, c

Fr. 48	Fr. 49	Fr. 50
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [ . ] [	]ροσ[	]νε[
] . λθακ.[	]c'αμ[	]ωπ[
] [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 48 1 Cancellation not quite certain: letter seems lightly crossed through, superior cancel dot will be lost

2 ] , lower left arc suitable for ο or ω

Fr. 51	Fr. 52	Fr. 53
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [ . ] [	]εε[	] . μ[
]υχα[	] . [	]οιμη[
] . υμ[	. . . . .	. . . . .
]οις[	. . . . .	. . . . .
] [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 51 3 ] , tip of medial horizontal

Fr. 53 1 ] , ο, ω, θ

Unexplained ink to top right of μ

Fr. 54	Fr. 55	Fr. 56
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]φυρ[	]μνο[	] . [
]τιπλ[	. . . . .	]απω . [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 57	Fr. 58	Fr. 59
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . νεμ[	] . [	]ςτα[
] . ερο[	] . σεγ . [	]οστι[
]μο . [	] . ζο . [	] . ας . [
]α . η . [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 57 4 ε , speck at high letter-top level above hole [ , left of arc as of θ, c

Fr. 58 2 ] , upper left of υ?

3 ] ; upper parts of η?

Fr. 59 2 τ[ , unexplained ink to top right of ε 3 ] , γ or τ suggested

Fr. 60	Fr. 61	Fr. 62
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [	] . ας[	] . ραες[
]ουνα[	]τεστι[	]α[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 62 1 ] , γ or τ

Fr. 63	Fr. 64	Fr. 65
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . α[	]π . [	]να . [
] . [	]υτω[	] . co . [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 63 1 ] , right tip of e.g. γ

Fr. 65 1 ] , ε or ν suggested  
immediate right of ο, υ?

2 ] , top of apparent upright

[ , high letter-top trace to

Fr. 66	Fr. 67	Fr. 68
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] [	] [	]π[
]αρπρ[	]α [	]μα [
]ημ [	]ναγ[	]απα [
. . . . .	] . . . [	. . . . .

Fr. 68 3 ], left tip of τ?

Fr. 69	Fr. 70	Fr. 71
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . . [	]ς[	] . υ [
]οαι [	]μα [	] . ον [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 69 2 ], γ or π suggested  
Fr. 71 2 ], ε or θ

Fr. 72	Fr. 73	Fr. 74
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]βορις [	] . . . [	] . [
] . δηξ [	]γγαρ [	]το [
]ο [	] . . [	]ςυ [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 72 1 ], letter-foot speck, close to ζ 2 ], upper part of slightly sloping stroke, α?  
Fr. 73 1 Lower parts of letters, first two e.g. ελ, α

Fr. 75	Fr. 76	Fr. 77
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ιμη [	]δ [	]εν [
]ηγλ [	]γν [	]οδ [
] . [	]ς [	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 77 1 ], left tip of τ?

Fr. 78	Fr. 79	Fr. 80
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . γ [	]απλ [	] . αλ [
]αλ [	] . [	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 78 1 ], right tip of υ?  
Fr. 80 1 ], γ, τ?

Fr. 81	Fr. 82	Fr. 83	Fr. 83bis
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . μ [	] . [	]ουν [	] . ρη [
] . α [	]λ [ . ]μ [	. . . . .	] . [
] . . [	] . ον [	. . . . .	. . . . .
]κ [	]ικρο [	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	5 ]ωτὰδ [	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	]ατοδεχ [	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	]ωτ [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 82 3 ], δ?, anomalously thick

Fr. 84	Fr. 85	Fr. 86
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . ικ [	] . [	] . εθ [
] . ρ . . . [ . ] . ξ [	] . και [	]μα [
] . αθειανπ [	]ηνπ [	] . . . [
5 ]ληνα φλ [	5 ]ως [	5 ]ρεθ [
] . . . . δ [	] . [	]αξδοι [
] . [	. . . . .	] . . . . [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 84-95 are from folder 87/351. Cf. at fr. 6 above. They may not all belong here.  
Fr. 84 2 ], upright of υ, π? 3 Substantial traces in damaged context 4 ], lower right corner of δ? 5 α, damaged traces with apparent trema above; ε would not account for all the ink; perhaps a cancellation λ, or α 6 Letter-top traces (first α, λ?), then damaged supralineation before δ 7 ], supralineation  
Fr. 85 2 ], lower left of υ? 6 α, δ, λ

Fr. 86 Abraded 2 Ink between the letters at letter-top level unaccounted for, not apostrophe  
 3 Perhaps  $\lambda\omega\omega$  [ , but that does not account for all the ink 5 . . [ , first damaged feet, perhaps  $\alpha$ ,  
 second  $\sigma$  or  $\varsigma$  7 . [  $\phi$  or  $\psi$

Fr. 87	Fr. 88	Fr. 89
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] φρη[ . . [	] . . [	] οφ . . . [
] ναχ . . [	] του [	] ολλας [
] πινα . . [	] υτο [	] αςμ . . [
] οικων[ . .	] τη [	] εο . . . [
. . . . .	5 ] ντ[	] . . . . [

Fr. 87 2 . . [ , first  $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ , second letter-foot trace, apparent oblique 3 . . [ , first perhaps  $\xi$ , second  
 letter-top horizontal,  $\tau$ ?

Fr. 88 4 ] , dicolon or tips of  $\kappa$ ?

Fr. 89 This fragment resembles fr. 90, and the same doubt attaches to it

Fr. 90	Fr. 91	Fr. 92
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . [	] [	] ε [
] ν [	] . [	] μ . . [
] . . . [	] [	] τοι . . [
] . μ . [	] εψ [	. . . . .
5 ] . . . [	5 ] κρ . [	. . . . .
] . . . [	] ες [	. . . . .
] . . . θ[	] ε [	. . . . .
] . [ c.5 ] υαγ[	] α [	. . . . .
] . το [ c.4 ] . εο [	] ν [ ] [	. . . . .
10 ] μω [ c.4 ] αυτο [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . . . . ς [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] ταξαςε . ο [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] αιεκτιμος [	. . . . .	. . . . .
] δεωσδο [	. . . . .	. . . . .
15 ] φα . . ω . [	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 90 I am not at all certain that this fragment, which is in poor condition, is rightly included here

7 ] . . , perhaps  $\epsilon\upsilon$  9 . [ ,  $\epsilon$  diminished at line end?

11 Various assignable letter-fee

Fr. 91 1-3 Perhaps column top, with the speck of ink casual, but ink may be lost to abrasion

Fr. 93	Fr. 94	Fr. 95
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] αλε [	] . τ [	] τ [
] εσα [	] . ομ [	] ις [
] . . [	] . [	. . . . .

Fr. 94 1 ] . , upright

Fr. 1

A run of anapaests (dimeters), catalectically closed at 5 or 6?

2-3 κρέδραμα seems probable in 3 (though the reading is not quite secure; if right there is also γαλέγ-  
 ραε), in which case κολλάι 'colly-mackerels' (LSJ) should perhaps be recognized in 2 rather than the obvious  
 alternatives σκολλαι and e.g. δυσκολία. We find κολλάι in a list of food-fish at Aristoph. fr. 430 K-A, cf.  
 Epicharm. fr. 62 K.

4 (-)τε κόρας a possibility.

6 πίνκνομα (or -ματ-)? The alternative is to divide before  $\mu\alpha$ ; that would mean a longer line and a  
 disregarded adscript (πικνῶ, κύνω). πικνώμασι Timocles fr. 17.3 K-A, of Hyperides' oratory; in fishy context,  
 as it happens.

Fr. 2

Most of the lines could be trimeters, or more probably, in view of the unevenness of the line-lengths,  
 trochaic tetrameters. But line 7 is unamenable, unless we are to recognise scriptio plena (καὶ δμμ- for  
 κῶμμ-), which I think unlikely. Perhaps anapaests (tetrameters) or hexameters commence at 7, or (since there  
 is no stop at the end of 6) at 6. If 9 ἀπορω does indeed end the line, anapaests seem indicated. But the  
 discrepancies in length are somewhat troubling, and 7 is still difficult.

3 Handley writes: ?γγ]ώμας ἐμ[οί. M. Dinsk. 817 τί μοι λέγεις γνώμας; and Asp. 414 γνωμολογίς, τριτάθλις;  
 could be relevant, the former referring to elevated sententiousness, the latter to elevation marked by paratra-  
 gedy; but for Old Comedy, see (e.g.) Ar. Clouds 321, and γνωμολογικός, knights 1379, where (both times) the  
 reference is to rhetoric. With ἀτραπηφορ[ in 5 and κλ]όδων (or ἐπηλ]όδων?) in 6, the Aspri passage and context  
 may give the best lead.

4 δ]εσπότας.

5 ἀτραπηφορ[-: elevated diction. Aristophanes lifts ἀτραπηφορεῖ from Euripides at Pax 722, cf. Eur.  
 Bac. 3 ἀτραπηφόρω πυρί.

6 If the upsilon is short, little but κλ]όδων offers itself: again high-flown. But it may be long.

7 ff. See above. In 8 χαλ]επός is quite possible; after that, δει. αι. [ , δει. αη [ or the like, apparently  
 not δεινάς.

10 If anapaestic, Handley suggests δδου]ρομενο[.

Fr. 3

Iambic, apparently, and dialogue, but the putative paragraphi are very faint. There is no sign of a  
 paragraphus beneath 2, so the traces in the margin of 3 are presumably something other than a nota personae.

Fr. 4

Dialogue in trimeters or trochaic tetrameters, probably verse-ends but possibly one metron further back.

2 E.g. οὐκ ἔσθ' ἔσπας εὐ γ' ο]ύχι?

3 -ος ὄν? Then μὰ τὸν Δία or μὰ τὸν θεός.

4 The letter following  $\gamma$  seems slightly better suited to  $\upsilon$  than to  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$ : a woman, then? (E.g. ἐὰν  
 στρατηλάτῃ γυνή? But other possibilities are numerous.) There is a female, or at least a feminine, in fr. 23  
 (4 -ουε').

Fr. 5

1 ἐν τί σου (or τι σοῦ) likelier than ἐν τις οὐ(δέ)? Aristoph. Vesp. 437 ἐν (ἐν codd.) τί σοι παγίχεται; ἐν τι

twice among the remains of Antiphanes, fr. 189.21 K-A, fr. 245.1 K-A, in the same position. δε[ could be part of δέομαι, e.g. δέ[ομαι τόδε (Handley); or e.g. δέ[δοικ' ἐγώ (cf Eur. *Andr.* 362).

3 να|υκλήρη| a possibility, along with e.g. ο|ῦ, c|ῦ.

Fr. 6

3 *ωνήε*. It does appear to be a trema over the iota, not a cancellation dot, to give *ωνήεθα*. So then part of θάκος, θάκεια, seemingly. Or we could consider *ωνήεθα*: Handley adduces *Il.* 10.67 *ἴηεθα* and contemporaries *ωνήεθα* κα[κοῖων and 4 (οῦ) |λέλαθ' ἄ|λγεια πάγων, with perhaps *άνιας* (with either short or epic long iota) in 5. The dactylic metre would compound the doubts already raised by this fragment's appearance: the piece may not be rightly grouped with this set of fragments.

4 λέλαθ', apparently; then a doubtfully read double point.

Fr. 7

*μαγ.* 1 c|τρατηγ[|a, seemingly, followed by a and a suspension.

Fr. 9

2 ού τε or e.g. cῦ τεκ[νίδιον?

4 ταῦτα: the accent disambiguates ταῦτά from ταῦτα.

Fr. 10

Iambic dialogue.

Fr. 11

Metre uncertain: anapaests likeliest?

1 πά|νυ γάρ.

2 φανερω[|c probable, with |ω either ἐγώ or verb (cf Ar. *Thesm.* 431), or (Handley) οὔτ|ω.

3 'Big,' 'Megarian,' or 'me'? 5 is presumably |ε (e.g. c|ε or a verb) γάρ αὐτο|.

4 |ολμήσει (or -ει[|c, τ|όλησι.

Fr. 14

3 If iambics, δακρύω[|ν noun, not verb.

Fr. 15

1 κομίας or -αθαί.

2 Since ποτις-, if part of ποτίζω or cognate, would be unlikely to be written with ει, I presume ἀποτ(ε)ις-, future or aorist, despite the lack of apostrophe. E.g. εἶτ' preceding.

Fr. 16

Iambic duologue, evidently.

1 ἄλλ' οὐ is quite possible; any apostrophe will have gone.

2 κακοῦ[αιμω(-) presumable.

4 Perhaps ἐγὼ φ[ράσω (coi), in response to the query of 3 εἰ (where articulation as εἰ τοῦ rather than εἶτ' οὐ is encouraged by the lack of diacritics). Cf. fr. 35.3, Ar. *Thesm.* 189. The paragraph does not necessarily mean that speaker-change coincides with line-beginning, but that seems a good assumption, both here and at 2.

Fr. 17

3 The apparent tiny η above the line between χ and θ (yielding τείχη?, χῆ?) implies unlikely error, and is perhaps best ignored; it does not look like a reference mark for a scholium. (-)μ[εγχεθε[|c(-), -θέρ[τ-, or (-)δ] seems likely; χθές excluded.

Fr. 18

Spondaic endings? (2 -cται infinitely less promising than -εcται or -οcται.) In that case, probably anapaestic tetrameter, the parabasis? Cf fr. 2.

1 Participle -ζων?

Fr. 22

3 If οῦ, I would have expected not the accent alone. (-)ξοῦ(-) in extant Aristophanes yields only (-)φενεζομαι and δορυξοῦ. Also available are e.g. εὐδοξοῦσα and Ξοῦθος.

Fr. 23

2 A short line, apparently; a gap would be anomalous. The end of lyrics, with stichic lines following? It should perhaps be explicitly said that line 1 cannot be read as part of χοροῦ.

3 ὦ μέλε unelided in extant Aristophanes only at verse-end.

4 ἔcτη[|c(ac), sim.?

Fr. 25

2 Perhaps e.g. ἔπε[|c or something more exotic, since ἔπειτα would hardly merit an accent.

Fr. 26

This fragment perhaps comes from the foot of the column of which fr. 4 gives the top, but I cannot confirm it.

2 τὸ μ[ρα[κίω—which if these are trimeters will occupy the second metron—or μ[ρα[κ(ε) seems probable. 3 After the initial traces (prima facie |ε :, but perhaps |ορ:| άραξ' Ἡ[ράκλεις is attractive; several times in Aristophanes. That implies a male speaker. Line-end is the normal but not the invariable position.

4 οὐχ οἶόν τ(ε) not inevitable but very appealing. I can make no sense of what stands above the first ο, 5. The odds must be on (-)ξ[|χεν, despite numerous (though metrically limited) other possibilities. εἰ δὲ ἄθ would be odd, and εἰ δ' ἠθ. [(ῆ?) is available; any apostrophe would be lost.

6 τοῦ|c π[ο]λίτας would fit, but I cannot say uniquely.

Fr. 28

1 ὠcπερεῖ τ[α]χ- seems likely.

2 Presumably |π[ό]λλω rather than πολλῶ, given the lack of adscript; and very probably νῆ or μ[ά] τὸν |.

Fr. 35

2 ε|γὼ φράσω, cf fr. 16.4.

Fr. 41

2 -β' ὄλο- not only seems unlikely in itself but is discommended by the absence of an apostrophe. We may recognize βολβοῦθ or more probably βολβοῦ[|c.

3 πα[ρ]ατίθ[ε]ται may be worth a mention, given Antiphanes fr. 61 K-A παρατίθην ... βολβοῦς.

Fr. 42

1 π[λ]ήν or e.g. δ[ι]π[λ]ή[ν].

3 It should be borne in mind that the articulation could be -ψω λo- rather than ψαλο-. The latter three times in Aristophanes and seemingly attested for Diphilus (fr. 38 K-A).

Fr. 43

1 ε[|]τ[ω]ν probable, 2 προcηc-, 3 τύφος, τύψω, or cognates.

Fr. 44

2 Perhaps ο|ῆc ἄν εἶη, 3 apparently -ο]υμένη.

Fr. 48

2 μ|αλθαc-

Fr. 62

1 γράες, apparently, scriptio plena being unlikely; conceivable match with Aristoph. fr. 364 K-A.

Fr. 72

1 I cannot quite exclude βόρις or βορίσι[|c i.e. βορει- (for the spelling cf. fr. 26.2 μ[ρα]κ[ι-], but the letter after βορι does appear to be sigma rather than omicron, and I imagine we should recognize an aorist form of ἔλλεβορίζεν. ἔλλεβορίζε[| looks likely; not -βοριcθ-; a palaeographically acceptable alternative would be ἔλλε[|βοριc[|c, but that is a more exclusively medical term. We may probably discount e.g. βορι[|βοριc[|c: if a comic poet had used such a word we might expect to hear of it in the lexicographical tradition (as with ἔλλεβοριάν, attested for Callias). A Ἐλλεβορίζόμενοι is attested for Diphilus (fr. 30 K-A; no attested fragments or Latin adaptations), but it would be rash to assign our fragments to it. π[ι]θ' ἔλλεβορον Ar. *Vesp.* 1489, cf. Men. fr. 63 K.

2 Madmen may bite (δηξ-); but the articulation may be (-)δη ξ-.

Fr. 82

4 μ|ικρο[|, π|ικρο[|.

Fr. 86

5 ἔθεά[|θε?

Fr. 87

2 Perhaps (δ|να)χαλ[|.

3 π[ί]ναξ? But e.g. κατ[ό]π[ω]ν cannot be excluded.

Fr. 89

2 π|ολλά[|c.

## 4412. NEW COMEDY

87/341(a)

fr. 1 6 × 13.7 cm

Third century

Line-ends from the foot of a column (lower margin 3 cm), written across the fibres in a loose Severe Style. On the front, and the other way up, 23 line-ends from a column of prose (upper margin 1.7 cm, right-hand margin c. 2.5 cm) which mentions Spartans (9 ]*σπαρτια*, 15 ]*οιλακεδαι*) and perhaps Phoenicia (4) and Arcadians (17).

No lectional signs or names. In 9 the space (largely occupied by the extended cross-bar of epsilon) may show change of speaker.

We are greatly indebted to Dr C. F. L. Austin and Dr N. Gonis for the suggestions quoted.

## Fr. 1

1 ] ο . [ ] κο μ . [ ] νιανπε . . [ . . ] [ . . ] [ ] καιθ [ . . ] υς [ ] νε [ . . ] ποτ [ ] ε [ ] οτι [ ] ] μνηντηςκορης [ ] ιτεκαικα [ ] λει [ ] αδιζε . . τεδε [ ] λω ο . . [ . . ] [ ] ονπλης ο . [ ] καιπ . γπλ . [ ] . . . [ ] νοικ . [ ] . . . ] σατε [ ] νερχομαι [ ] ω εκτρεχει [ ] απονδια [ ] νανομνω [ ] foot

## Fr. 1

1 ] , foot of upright, short horizontal at line-level to right (i.e. right foot of η, π?) ο [ , point at two-thirds height 2 ] , right-hand part of ω? ο . , elements of circle, perhaps c [ , convex upright 3 ] , oblique descending from left to right ε . [ , descender reaching well below the

line; faint traces to right (delusory?) 4 ] [ , foot of upright hooked to the left ] , right hand end of horizontal at one third (?) height; perhaps elements of ο 5 ] . , faint horizontal tail at one-third height; upright (i?) ε [ ] . , foot well below the line (e.g. ρ); ink at mid-level; top right and tail of υ? 6 ] , top and foot of upright, descending oblique above and to right (υ?) 8 ] , right-hand end of horizontal at two-thirds height, point on edge above (i.e. upper and middle extremities of ε?) ε [ ] , the space may be smaller than appears (scrap joined on here) 9 . τεε, first apparently τ with top extending well to left (no sign of an earlier upright to make π); second possibly upper left-hand arc; τ possibly γ 10 ] , oblique descending from left to right, extensive junction at top left (α, λ?) ω , elements of large λ or χ? (apparently not μ) ο , left peak of μ? [ , elements of υ? 11 ] , γ or τ . ο [ , apparently top and foot of upright; lower part of upright, trace of descending oblique to top right? 12 π . , the pi narrow; then upright [ , upright, horizontal to right at two-thirds height (η? or straight ε, if the apparent trace of ink to the top right is not a delusion?) 13 ] . . . , first two, μ . or μ (the first an oblique descending from left to right, as of α); then apparently π κ [ , signs of ink below the lower leg, and to the right on loose fibre: perhaps elements of narrow-nosed α? 15 ] , traces of horizontal tail at one-third height? 16 ] . , to left, ink on under-fibres; then slightly concave upright on edge (η μ? υ π) ω , perhaps just c with top extended to the right 17 ] . , to left, ink on underfibres; then right half of μ? 18 ] , upright

## Fr. 2

]. . . [ ] ολις [ ] υν [ ] . [ ]

## Fr. 5

] ε . . . [ ] νεκ [ ]

## Fr. 8

] . ζττ [ ]

## Fr. 3

] . . . [ ] και [ ] θ [ ]

## Fr. 6

] . [ ] μ [ ] . ε [ ]

## Fr. 9

] δε . . . [ ] υσηργαζ [ ] ξη . . ε [ ]

## Fr. 4

] . [ ] εκ [ ] υθ [ ] . [ ]

## Fr. 7

] ας [ ]

## Fr. 2

1 ] . , upright with horizontal extending to right, damaged τ rather than υ? then upright, hooked to right at foot, oblique traces at top left, i.e. υ rather than ι? Then apparently no traces of ink on partly-



preserved fibres 2 ], point at line-level, apparently foot of oblique descending from the left 3 . I,  
foot and top of oblique rising to the right

Fr. 3

3 ], apparently triangular apex; before that, preserved papyrus, blank or a letter of low stature?

Fr. 4

1 ] [, left upright and descending oblique of υ? 2 ], horizontal trace at line level, then to right  
horizontal trace nearly level with letter-tops (ξ, ζ?) 3 ], top of upright 4 ], top of upright

Fr. 5

1 ε . . . [, first, lower part of upright; second, oblique rising from left to right; third, foot of upright

Fr. 6

Fibres stripped to the left; further traces on underfibres to left of 3

Fr. 7

Blank space below: foot of column? or line-end?

Fr. 8

], lower arc of circle (ο, ω?) possibly elision mark cutting the horizontal of τ

Fr. 9

The recto preserves part of a right-hand margin 1 ]δ, the ink at the lower right is perhaps more  
than expected for the usual prolongation of the descending oblique; ]δ; might be considered 3 γ . . .  
first a tiny trace on the lower layer of fibres; then perhaps right-hand arc and cross-bar of θ . . . [, upright

Fr. 1

3 νε[ανίω? Then apparently περ . . .

4 Spacing at the end uncertain: perhaps ] και θ[ε]ρούς. Presumably a compound oath of the type νη τὸν  
Ἀπόλλω και θεοῦς (Men., *Dysk.* 151, *Epir.* 400). But the trace in mid-line, an upright hooked leftwards at the  
foot, does not suit Ἀπόλλω. Ποσειδ[ω]ν (Sam. 427) looks a little short for the space, Ἀθη[ν]α[ῶν] (Austin, citing  
fr. adesp. 1014.37 KA) would fit well; neither suits the trace ideally.

5 Perhaps simply ποτε, the tau like the epsilon extended at the line-end, cf. 14; this, like 4 θ[ε]ρούς,  
assumes that the promontory of papyrus on the right needs to be moved closer in to the main massif. Before  
that, υ? e.g. ἐφ[ά]νετ' [δ]έ ποτε, -αυετου ποτε.

6 A very short line. Final δτι is common enough in Menander (most often in the phrases οἷδ' δτι and  
τεθ' δτι).

7 ἐδεσ]μην τῆς κόρης? Or e.g. ἐγενό]μην τῆς κόρης / [ἐ]γωγ' ἐρατῆς (Austin).

8 ]ει τε []ειτε) και καλει (καλει, καλει).

9 β]άδιζε, or ἐβ]άδιζε (Men., *Kol.* 47, *Sik.* 270); then space (change of speaker?). For the imperative, cf.  
Sam. 258 καλει . . . βάδιζε. Then possibly ττοδε], τότε δε[κα (Austin) or the like.

10 Perhaps ἀ]λλ' ἄχόμ[η]ν (Gonis), cf. adesp. 1017.73 KA.

11 τὸν (-τον) πλησίον? Men. fr. 322.2 Koe. τὸν πλησίον 'the neighbour'.

12 Perhaps και πιδὼν πλε[ ] (πλε[ ]ον?) (Gonis).

13 Try (ἀν)έκ]αμπτου οἰκα]δε? For the verb cf. Men., Sam. 686, *Misoum.* 169.

15 ἐρχομαι, ἀνέρχομαι (the scribe leaves a space before ε, which may or may not be accidental).

16 ἐκτρέχει (with ὡς or -ως before?).

17-18 μά τὸν Δία, then Ἀθ]ηνῶν δμνύω. Together, as Dr Austin suggests, τὸν Δία / [τὸν Ὀλύμπου και  
τῶν Ἀθ]ηνῶν, cf. Men. fr. 87, 333.14 Koe., Alex. fr. 233.1 KA, adesp. 1032.22 KA.

Fr. 2

1 Apparently line-end. ε]τ; δ]τ; or the like would be tempting; but if the last trace is rightly seen as υ,  
not much offers except πλα]τῆ.

2 μόλις? Not πάλις.

3 γ]ύνα[ι] is one possibility.

Fr. 9

2 ἡργαζ[-.

3 Perhaps ἐξήλθε[ ], but there seems to be further ink unexplained above ξ.

P. G. McC. BROWN—P. J. PARSONS

### III. HELLENISTIC POETS

#### 4413-4422. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I

This section includes all the unpublished papyri of *Argonautica* I so far identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. The collation takes as basis the apparatus of F. Vian (Budé, 1974), which was based on fresh collations of the MSS and of the indirect tradition (notably of the two MSS of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* by J.-M. Jacques). Vian lists the papyri of this Book already published; add now BKT IX 179, a fragment from a codex (Hermopolis, v AD) with *Arg.* 1.234-40, and *ZPE* 115 (1997) 174 (roll, iii AD) with *Arg.* 1. 864-9.

Three of these pieces (4413, 4418, 4421) were first transcribed by Professor Peter Kingston, and later cleaned and re-transcribed by Dr W. E. H. Cockle. The text printed here derives from a fresh collation; but we are grateful to Professor Kingston and Dr Cockle for allowing us to consult their results.

#### 4413. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 85-105

5 1B.57/G(j)

3.3 × 12.1 cm

Third century

A narrow fragment of a roll, badly rubbed in places, preserving ends of twenty-one lines. To the right of the column a narrow strip of papyrus has been stuck as reinforcement prior to writing. The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank.

The text is written in an unpretentious angular hand, sloping slightly to the right. It may be assigned to the first half of the third century, if not slightly earlier. It is very roughly bilinear (ι, ρ, τ, υ, φ project below line). Notable letter-forms include ξ, having a shape common in elegant bookhands, and υ, with the foot of its stem curved to the left.

An apostrophe, apparently written by the copyist, marks the only elision of the preserved text (90). There is punctuation in the form of short oblique dashes at verse-ends, but once in the form of a high point (100). I would think that all the dashes are the work of the original scribe, while a second hand added the high point. The second hand is also responsible for most of the accentuation: acutes (85, 87, 90, 91, 95, 100, 103), and possibly a grave (94), a circumflex (92), and a rough breathing (90), some of them awkwardly placed further to the right than where they should have stood. A quantity mark may have been written in 102. There are interlineal corrections in 92 and 98. The text presents nothing which is of special interest.

85 εικο]ρόων[ται  
 ηγερε]θοντο  
 υιε]ε'  
 απ]όνητο  
 δοτηρ]ι'  
 90 με]ν αμ' αμόφω  
 ] κατένασθεν  
 εξέ]ναρίζεν<sup>α</sup>  
 νασσ]ατο νησώ'  
 -ι]αθέειε'  
 95 ] Βούτης  
 Φ]αληρος'  
 αλ]λουε  
 κηδεμον]ο<sup>α</sup> . .'  
 μουνο]ν εον[τ]α[  
 100 η]ρώεσει'  
 ε]κεκαστο  
 δεε]μοσ' ερύκ[ε  
 τ]έ κεν αμόφω  
 ε]θεντ[ο  
 105 δημο]ν[ ] [

86 In the margin some scattered specks.

89 Judging from its angular space, a space-filler rather than punctuation is written in the margin.

90 αμ'. Ink above α: possibly part of a rough breathing.

92 εξέ]ναρίζεν. Over iota is a curved stroke in lighter ink which looks like a circumflex (I cannot explain this anomalous accentuation). -εν, a mistake, obviously derives from κατένασθεν in the previous line.

94 -]αθέειε: διαθείε L<sup>1</sup>WE; διαθείε LA. Above sigma there is a curious stroke which starts descending from right to left but soon turns rightwards and approximates the form of a grave accent. Did the scribe start writing an acute, but soon become aware of his mistake and write a grave? Or was the original grave simply deleted by a cancellation stroke? If a grave accent over α (the penultimate syllable) were intended, its purpose would be to show that the word is oxytone. Alternatively, we could try to interpret the ink as a suprascript letter, perhaps ]χ; but the traces do not encourage this.

98 ]ο . . There is considerable difficulty in deciding what is written here. On the line the first letter may well be ο (lower part only), and is followed by an inconclusive low trace, and another trace below line-level (descender?). At any rate, the expected κηδεμον]ήαε cannot be read. It is likely that what the scribe wrote was mistaken, and the correct form was inserted above the line, as in 92. Then ]α . (the written surface is abraded to the left) could be the ending of κηδεμον]ήαε. But I do not see how to restore the text *ante correctionem*, and cannot confidently restore ε above the line (there seems to be more ink, and higher up, than would be expected).

102 ερύκ[ε. Above upsilon there is a horizontal trace slightly curving up to right. Its shape is compatible with an acute accent, but this would not suit the transmitted ερύκε; did the papyrus have an unattested variant such as ερύκει (in error)? But one may also think of a quantity mark.

N. GONIS

4414. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 133–204, 938–9, 974–1009

103 (Dec. 28) (=A)  
 50 4B.23/F(3–5)<sup>a</sup> (=B)

fr. 1 3.5 × 17 cm  
 fr. 18 8 × 23 cm

Second/third century

The main piece (B) gives the left-hand part of a complete column, with *Arg.* 1.974–1009; at the top left, two line-ends from the preceding column (938–9) are visible, so that the width of the intercolumnium can be estimated at 2.5–3 cm. The preserved upper margin is 2 cm, the preserved lower margin 2.5 cm deep. The complete column consists of 35 lines, which take up 18.5 cm; the total height of the roll is 23 cm. The line-length must have been 13–18 cm. If we take 15 cm as a norm, the length of a roll which contained *Argonautica* I would be about 7 m (39 columns). The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank.

Under A are assembled 17 smaller fragments which can be placed in *Arg.* 1.133–204. Here too, the writing is along the fibres; the back is blank. There is an apparent upper margin of 1.9 cm in fr. 1, a lower margin of 2.5 cm in fr. 2. The difference of inventory numbers suggests that A and B were found separately, and more than 750 lines of text intervene between them. But there is a very strong case for assuming that A and B were not only written by the same scribe but also belong to the same roll. (1) The script is very similar. (2) The widths of the surviving margins are consistent. (3) The line-spacing is the same in both. (4) The ink is the same colour in both, and so is the lighter ink used for corrections. (5) The columns of A can be reconstructed to contain more or less the same number of lines as those of B.

On the basis of a column of c. 35 lines, it is possible to give a fairly precise plan of the roll:

[ cols. i–iv	1–132]
col. v	133–167 (35 lines)
vi	168–204 (36 lines)
[ cols. vii–xxvii	205–937]
col. xxviii	938–973 (36 lines)
xxix	974–1009 (35 lines)
[	]

Assuming that the number of lines in this papyrus was the same as in the medieval tradition, the gap between A and B contained 769 verses, which make almost exactly

22 columns of 35 lines. The gap before A contained 132 verses, or four columns averaging 33 verses: either the columns were shorter, or some prefatory material preceded the first verse.

The hand is medium-sized and angular, a rapid and informal version of the 'mixed' style which might be compared with Roberts, *GLH* 15c (Dioscorides, on the front of a document dated AD 191) and 17b (*Hellenica Oxyllynchia*, on the back of a document of the later second century?); III 446 (pl. VI) (Homer, on the front of a document of late ii or iii); VI 852 (Turner, *GMAW* 31) (*Hypstipyle*, on the back of an account datable perhaps to AD 90). Probably it should be assigned to the later second or earlier third century.

Some of the lectional signs are the work of the original scribe, some have been added by a second hand using a paler, brownish ink. It is interesting that A has far more accents by the first hand than B; apparently the original scribe took greater care with the earlier part of the text than later on. Only 979 has an acute which is made with a pen of similar thickness and apparently the same ink that the original scribe used. The only grave accents are in 1004. The first scribe put six circumflex accents in the text, while the other six (the one in 991 is doubtful) are added by the second hand. Elision marks, in several different shapes, are mostly written by the first hand (by the second hand in 183, 985, 988); there is no example of *scriptio plena*. The breathings, rough and smooth, are all written by the second scribe, except for the rough breathings in 193 and 988. Hyphen (976) and one *longum* (975) are added by the second hand; another *longum* (134) is written by the first hand. The two *obeloi* in 992-3 seem to belong to the writing of the first scribe, as well as three *diaveseis* (179, 976, 988), two expunging dots (986), a high stop (1007), and a *diastole* (999, 1005); some other critical signs may have been written (see on 157-8).

This is in its way a professional copy (iota adscript written everywhere that requires it). But two lines were omitted, and had to be supplied in the margin (192, 985, the second set off by an oblique dash). The original scribe apparently supplied 985. He was or may have been responsible also for the interlinear corrections or variants (135, 178, 993, 994, 998, 1001); that raises the possibility that he took them from his exemplar rather than from an independent collation.

The papyrus is of considerable interest for the text. In 987 it provides a certainly correct reading which is known otherwise only from the *Elymologica*. In 990 it solves a problem by reading *φράσων* (already conjectured by Fränkel) *ἀπειρεσίη*[αι (the widely accepted emendation of Platt). The variants *καὶ κείνα* (996) and *ἄλλοι* (998) seem to reflect arguments among Homeric scholars with which Apollonius himself may well have been familiar. There are other unique variants which look more like mistakes: 185 *ἄλλοι* for *ἄλλω* (vulgarisation), 196 *νεώτ[ε]ρον* for *ὑπέρτερον* (inferior sense), 993 *ἡρακλεωδηγαρ* (unintelligible), 994 *πάντας* for *τόξον* (a Homerism), 1001 *οἱ δέ* for *ἦδέ* (possible), 1007 *ἀλλ' οἱ* for *ἄλλοι* (against the syntax). The scribe wrote one additional line (155a), and deleted it.

[coll. i-iv lost]

A fr. 1-2 (col. v)

top  
 γε]νέθλη [ ]  
 Ναυβ]ολιδᾶο [ ]  
 ]<sup>ev</sup> [ ]  
 135 ]ν εον[τα  
 δε ]κούρ[η  
 εννη]θείρα[ ]  
 ναυτ]ιλίηι [ ]  
 140? ]οικω [ ]  
 139? ]ν [ ]  
 141? ] [ ]  
 μι]ν αυτος· [ ]  
 Αιολιδη]ν· [ ]  
 εδιδα]ξεν· [ ]  
 145 ι]δεσθαι· [ ]  
 Α]ήδη [ ]  
 δεδαημεν]ογ ἕππωγ [ ]  
 ].. [ ]  
 ].. [ ]  
 150 ].. [ ]  
 ].. [ ]  
 αλ]κή. [ ]  
 ].. [ ]  
 ]..[.] [ ]  
 155 αυγαζεσθ]αι [ ]  
 155a ]..ς.. [ ]  
 ν]έεσθαι [ ]  
 εξεγέ]νοντο [ ]  
 ] .. [ ]

Fr. 2

165 ] . . . ν . [ .  
 σφρ]α κομίζ, ι [ .  
 κασιγνητο]ζιν όπα[ ] ν  
 foot

fr. 3-17 (col. vi)

top

168 fr. 3/4

αμφ]ίτομόν τ[ε

ε]ντε[α] γάρ δ[ι

170

ενεκρυ]ψε κα[λ]ειή [

] . [ ] . [

] [ ] [

173 fr. 5

] . . . . [

] . [ ] [

175?

Κο]λχ[ων

υι]ς [ ] [

177 fr. 6

ικ]αγ[ον Αχαιδος ην ]κοτε Π[ε]λλην

] α . [ ] . α [ ]

επ]όλις[cen επ οφρυ]ζιν Αιγιάλο[ιο

ε]πι τοίς [λιπων] , ύφημος ις[ανε

179 fr. 7

Ποσειδαω]νι πο[δωκηες]τατον άλλων[

180

181 fr. 8

Ευρωπ]η Τ[ι]τ]υοιο μεγα[ρ]θευ]έος τεκε [κ]ουρ[η

κει]νος ανηρ. κα[ι] πουτ[ου επι] γλαυκο[ι]ο θ]έε[σκεν

οιδ]ματος ουδε θοους β[απτεν] πόδας αλλ ός[

184 fr. 9

ιχν]εσι τεγγομενος διερη π[ε]φο[ρη]το κ[ε]λε[υθω

185 fr. 10

και] δ' άλλοι δ . [ ] . [ ] . Πο[ρει]δ[αω]ν[ο

ητο]ι ο μεν πτ[ολιεθρο]ν αγα[ν]ου Με[ιλη]τοιο[

187 fr. 11

νο]ςφισθεις [Εργινος ο] δ' Ι[μ]β[ι] . . [ ] . [ ]

188 fr. 12

Παρθ]ενιη[ . Αγκαιος υπ]έρ[βιο]ς [ιστορ]ε δ' αμ[φω

189 fr. 13

ημ]εν ναυ[τιλι]ς ηδ' α]ρ[ε]ος ευχετοων]το[

190

Ον]είδης δ[ επι τοις] αφ[ορμη]θεις Καλ]υδ[ωνος

191 fr. 14/15

ακ]ήρει[ς] Μ[ε]λε[αγ]ρος αν]ήλ[υ]θε Αα[ ] . [ ]

193

μητ]ερος αλλα έ θηες[α] γυνη τεκε τ[ον] μεν [

ηδη] γηραλέον κ[ο]ςμ[ήτορ]α] παι[δος ιαλ]λεν[

195

ωδ' ε]τι κουριζων περιθαρσα δυ]νεν

ηρωων] του δ' ουτ[ ] νεωτ[ ] ρον αλ[λον

νος]φιν [γ] ' Ηρακλη[ο]ς ε ελθέμεν [

αυθι μ]εν[ων λ]υ[κ]αβα[ντ]α μ[ε]τ

199 fr. 16

και μεν] ο[ι μη]τρως αυτ[η]ν [ ] . [ ]

200

στα]δίηι δεδ[αημενος] . [ ] [ ]

Ιφι]κλος εφ[ωμαρτης] κ[ι]οντι

202 fr. 17

] . . . [ Ω]λενοιο . [ ]

] . . . [ ] [ ]

] κ[ε]φ[λο]ς[ ] . δ . [ ]

vac.

192

] αδελφ[εος ου με]ν ιης γ[ε

foot

[coll. vii-xxvii lost]

B

(col. xxviii)

(col. xxix)

top

(985) / ηοι δ' εικαν[εβαν

938

ισθμ]ος

αλλ' ετι οι κατα δ[ωματ

939

ακτ]αι

975

ωδώνων Μεροπ[ο

Κλέιτη εύπλόκα[μος

θεσπεσιος έδνοι[σιν

αλλα και ως θάλαμ[ον

τοίς μετά δαιτ' αλεγ[υνε

980

α]λληλους δ' έρέεω[ν

π]ευθετο ναυτιλις[

οι]δε περικτιόνων π[ολιας

ευρ]ειης πευθοντο . [ ]

984

η[εί]δει καταλεξει ε[ελδομενοις

986

θηήσαιντο [[πθ] πορ[ο

νηα Χυτάι Λιμενι . . [ ]

ήδε δ' Ίη' ονή πεφατ[αι

Γηγενεες δ' ετέρω[θεν

990 φράσσον απειρέσει[ει  
 ποντιον οιά' τε θηρ[α  
 — άλλα γαρ αὐθι λελε[επτο  
<sup>ε-δέδη]</sup>  
 Ηρακλε[ω]η [[δη γαρ] [.]. [ <sub>παντας</sub>  
 τοξον επασσυτερο[υς  
 995 πέτρας αμφιρώγα[ς  
 δη γαρ που και κείνα θ[εα  
 Ηρη Ζηνος άκοιτις αε[θλιον  
<sup>ω</sup>  
 ζυν δε και αλλοι δήτην . [   
 πριω περ, ανελθέμεν . [   
 1000 Γηγενεων ηρωες αρη[ιοι  
<sup>αι</sup>  
 ηδε και εγχειρις δεδε[γμενοι  
 αντιβιην ασπερχες . . . [   
 . . . δ' οτε δουρατα μακρα ν[εον  
 υ]λοτόμοι στοιχηδον επι[   
 1005 ο]φρα, νοτιςθέντα κρατ[ερους  
 ως] οι ενι ξυνοχηι λιμέν[ος  
 εξείης' αλλ' οι μεν ες αλ[μυρον  
 δυ]πτοντες κεφ[αλ]ας κα[ι  
 χε]ρσωνι τειωμε[νοι  
 foot

135 The spacing shows that the letters above represented an interlinear addition (or comment), not an extra verse. Probably we should interpret the remains as γε με]ν εον[τα, with ιδ]μεν (omitted by *homoeoteleuton*) supplied by the first hand.

138–141 Verse 138 is certainly identified. The next line ends with ]οικω, which would suit 140 (οιωνοικω) but not 139 (θναϊων); the next again with ]ν, which would suit 139 and much else. The third line, where nothing survives, might be 141, which is very short and would not have reached the preserved part of the papyrus. 139 would make no sense after 140; we should need to assume that it was omitted accidentally at some stage, and replaced in the wrong position.

147 δεδαμμεν]ον: the supposed ν has been thickly overwritten; above it a v-shaped mark suggesting a suprascript υ.

148–52 The spacing shows that there were five lines, but the traces are badly damaged and partly lost in stripped supplements to the right.

148 Perhaps Τυνδ]αρ[εοιο.

152 αλ]κη]ι possible (a medial trace before stripped fibres; a further trace, well below the line, might represent the foot of iota, but apparently stands too far to the right).

153–6 The first of these line-ends offers unidentifiable traces. The second, ] . . . [ . . . ], looks most like ν with possibly a high trace to the right on damaged fibres; this might represent 154 κει]ν]ον or κει]ν]ον (the last trace, on a patch of adhering fibres, may not belong at all). In the next, ]αι is very likely, presumably

155 αναζεθ]αι. The last clearly has ]εεθαι, i.e. verse 156. But the spacing shows that there was an extra line between '155' and 156.

155a ] . . . : the first trace is a tail which descends below the line and whose upper part bends to the right (ν or possibly ρ?); the next seems to be ε; the remains of the next (a vertical, a horizontal sloping gently down, remains seemingly of another vertical) most suggest ν or a wide η (possibly with a circumflex above); then probably one further letter, or even two, though there is some uncertainty, because the traces are covered by a very large mark in the same ink as the first hand, more or less in the shape of a round bracket. This bracket presumably signifies a deletion.

No MS has an additional verse here. 155 ends the description of Lynceus' extraordinary eyesight, and 156 ον δε... introduces another hero in the catalogue. It is conceivable that a verse was inserted here which gave another detail. However, the *Suda*, which quotes 154–155 under the heading *Λυγκέως*, gives only these two lines. It looks as if the scribe copied a superfluous line and then added brackets to correct his error.

156–8 No clear trace remains of 158; the surface is damaged, and in any case 158 is such a short verse that we should not expect it to reach the preserved papyrus. In the margin to the right, traces on the edge: just above the level of 157, the lower part of an oblique rising to the right (cf. 985); lower down, three further traces one above another, of which the upper two might be the left-hand extremities of X (or of a *diple* or dotted *obelos*). These cannot represent line-beginnings from the next column, since it is clear in the upper part of this column that the margin was wider. They may be critical signs (apparently written by the second hand) referring to the next column.

165 The traces would allow αλλ] ο μεν η[δη (MSS).

166 σφ]ρα κομ]ι, ι: κομ]ιζοι possible, as in Ω; κομ]ιζει too could be read, but we expect the optative after the aorist *λίπετ'*.

167 σπα] ] ν: σπασσε Ω: -αζε D. ]εν is acceptable. The spacing does not decide between σπα]ζ]εν and σπα]ς]εν; for a similar set of variants cf. S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* 276, on *Od.* 20.68. Here as at 143 the papyrus has the final nu, although the next line begins with a consonant; what the MSS have is not clear (Vian records only -ν within the line, I *Introd.* lxxvii).

168–74 The ends of these lines appear on fr. 3+4, the ends of 175 ff. on fr. 5. The precise horizontal range of these fragments in relation to each other cannot be determined.

168 αμφ]ιτομόν τ[ε: so M: ἀμφι τότε E<sup>ns</sup>H: ἀμφειτό τε E<sup>2</sup> in ras. (a simple error of omission by E, which E<sup>2</sup> tried to correct). Fränkel posits a lacuna before ἀμφιτομον, to soften the Zeugma; the papyrus does not support this, and I agree with Vian (I p. 58 n. 2) that the text is perfectly intelligible as it stands.

170 ενεκρ]υ]ψε: psi represented only by a short oblique above middle height.

κα]λ]ει]η]: so M<sup>S</sup>a: -λη] wd<sup>S</sup>14.

171 ] . . . [ : a vertical trace, perhaps but not certainly the last letter of the line (suitable for *veεεθαι*).

173 εμ]βασι]α]ενε or perhaps -]ενε]ν acceptable.

174 γαι]αν acceptable.

177 ικ]αν]ον: ἀφικανον Ω: ἀφ' ικανον Fränkel: ἐφ- Campbell.

]κοτε Π[ε]λλης ποτε Πέλλην Ω (Πέλλην Hölzlin). It seems that the papyrus has either a different text, or the Ionic form of ποτε, which is otherwise not used in the *Argonautica* or the epic tradition in general; cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Call.* II p. xc for inconsistent intrusions of ποτε in Callimachus and his transmission.

178 ]α. [ . . . ]α [ : a supralinear note, written in an ink similar to that used by the main hand, but thinner and more cursive. The second letter might be λ or χ or perhaps υ; the last might be λ as well as α. I have tried αχ]α]α (this would serve to distinguish the Achaean Aigialos (II. 2.575; Paus. 7.1.1) from other places of the same name and from the noun αἰγιάλος); but it looks too short for the space, and there is more ink than ι would account for.

179 ε]πι τοις]λαταν]. ὕψιμος: Ἐψήμιος ETest. (confirmed by *Arg.* 4.1466, VF 1.365; already in Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.45–6); Πολύψιμος Ω. The traces before ν are indecisive. But the spacing, which can be estimated from the certain supplements in 180–1, seems to favour εψήμιος; [λατων] would probably be too long.

182 After ανηρ, a dot on the line: if this represents a low stop, its significance is not clear, unless it serves to separate the subject from the two parallel clauses that follow.

183 β]απτεν]: βάπτεν Ω: κάμπτεν E. The trace (a spot at line-level) would fit κ or β equally well. The space marginally favours the shorter [απτεν].

οέ]: δεον MSS. There is an apparent stop after ο, and other unexplained ink.

185 αλλοι: ελλω Ω.

δ [ . ] . [ . ] : δυ[ο] π[α][ε]δ[ε] or δυ[ο] πα[ι][δ]ε would suit the traces, but the space seems too narrow.  
 186 ]ου Μ[ε]λ[ι]η]τοιο. The placing of fr. 9 largely depends on these four letters (ουμ[ε]), since they are the only clear letters on the piece. This orthographic variant (μ[ε]- for μ[υ]-) does not seem to be mentioned in any of the editions, but the equivalence of ι and ε is widely attested; there are, in particular, several instances in other papyri of Apollonius (for example in XXXIV 2693 942; 2694 469; 2700 215).

]τοιο. ι is crossed by an odd, curved stroke, but I do not see how else to read it (it is too small for φ). Did the scribe first write *TOY* and then change it to *TOIO*? But note that the first ο too has a vertical sticking up from it.

187 ][μβ] . [ . ] : the minimal traces would allow ][μβ]ρ[α]c]η]c].  
 188 ]ενη]: Παρθένης Ω Σ<sup>λεμ</sup> Σ<sup>2</sup>: Παρθένην Brunck.  
 189 α]ρε]ος: the unexplained interlinear ink (visible below ]έ in 188) should belong approximately above these letters. The traces most suggest the extremities of c or the like; but e.g. δ? perhaps not impossible.

189–193 The placing of fr. 13–14 seems certain, since parts of 193 are certainly read in both of them, and in 195–7 they touch physically. But if the readings are correct, it becomes clear that the papyrus omitted 192. This in turn is confirmed, if we recognise this verse added in the lower margin of the column, ] αδελφ[ε]ος ου μ[ε]ν ης γ[ε]. One could think of various mechanical explanations for the omission—the repetition of Λαοκόων, homoioeposon (Μελέαργος—Οίνης); homooteleuton (τε—γε).  
 190 ]έδης δ[ επι τοιων] γφ[ορμηθεις Καλ]υδ[ωνος: δ' LAG: τ' E om. S.

193 τ[ε]ν: τ apparently corrected (there is an additional upright descending from the left part of the cross-bar).

193–4 The ends, ]μεν[ and ]λεν[ , are fr. 15, 2–3, doubtfully placed here; alternatively we may have νεν and λον from 195 and 196. The first line of fr. 15 is too broken to confirm either placing.

196 ηρωων] γην δ' ουτ[ ] ηρωητ[ ]ρον αλ[λων: τοδ δ' οβ τιν' υπερτερον ελλον Ω. The papyrus seems to have a different adjective, νεώτερον; and before it ουτ[ε] or ουτ[ι]. The spacing apparently favours the latter; if ε had been written, one would expect to see a trace of the middle-stroke. ουτι νεώτερον would fit the metre, but how would it fit the context? Apollonius certainly means that Meleager was very young, and we could translate 'in no way, I think, was any other hero who arrived younger'. But the comparison with Heracles has no point (Heracles was not especially young; cf. 1.122–32), and the conditional clause ('if he had grown up among the Aetolians for one year more') makes no sense at all.

Perhaps this variant<sup>6</sup> is a mistake which occurred because a scribe was not able to divide the words properly: ΤΙΝΥΠΕΡΤΕΡΟΝ was understood as ΤΙ ΝΥΠΕΡΤΕΡΟΝ, and the unintelligible word altered to νεώτερον. This is a certain similarity to *Il.* 15.569 Αντόλοχ', οβ τις celo νεώτερος ελλον Άχαιών.

197 ε ελθ[ε]μ[εν]: επελθέμεν Ω: εσεθέμεν E. The traces of the letter between ε and ε are ambiguous: a left-hand foot and right-hand part of a high horizontal suggest π rather than ε, and that may be favoured by the spacing too.

202 Ink unaccounted for at the end, middle stop?

976 Κλειτη paroxytone, as in Ω and Σ<sup>2</sup>; Κλειτή oxytone in Γ<sup>mk</sup>, Σ<sup>1</sup>. EG and EGud recognise both (text in Wendel, *Schol. Apol.*, p. 86, n. 2 on 1.974–76a): διχως δέ δ νότος, οί δέ πλείους δξύνουσι. σημαίνει δέ την ενδοξον, παρά τὸ κλειτός. Clearly some scribes preferred the oxytone, because they believed the name to be the feminine form of the adjective κλειτός. The MSS, like our papyrus, have the paroxytone, which conforms to the general rule for accenting proper names in -τη (cf. H. W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* §§ 185–6—a note on Κλειτη on p. 54), and the more general rule about the recession of the accent in proper names formed from adjectives (Schwyzer, *Gr. I* 420).

985 This line is omitted here, which can be explained by *homoearchon* of 984 ΗΕΙΔΕΙ and 985 ΗΟΙΔΕΙ. There was probably an omission mark in the left margin, but the papyrus is now broken away. The verse is added in the top margin in a script and ink which seem very similar to the first hand. One might assume that the scribe noticed his mistake and corrected it himself. He put an oblique stroke before the line, which is inset above the column, so that it does not match the beginnings of the other verses and makes this addition more noticeable to the reader; for similar uses of the single oblique see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* 17.

987 Χυτόν Λιμεν . [ : so EG<sup>3</sup> EM: χυτόν λιμένος MSS, Σ. The dative is the obviously better reading. The sense requires that the ship was brought from the first landing place into the second harbour. This coincides with the historical and archaeological facts about the double harbour of Kyzikos; cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio Beiheft XIV* (N.F. 1) (1923) 63–4. Chytos was the

western, Threikos the eastern harbour (Lehmann-Hartleben, map of Kyzikos in 3rd set of maps, Plan XI). The genitive ending may have been caused by assimilation to the words προτέρου ... ἔργου; cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism* 23–4.

The papyrus is broken after λιμενι but traces of ink are visible: they consist of two rounded strokes, which do not seem to fit π (προτέρου MSS), but for example c, ε, ο. After these, there is the lower part of a descender. There may have been a further textual variant.

990 φράσσον απειρεσίη]c: φράξαν απειρεσίω MSS: 'fort. φράσσον (potius quam φράζει ἐπειρεσαντο) vel απειρεσίαι κ'ε' Fränkel: απειρεσίης Platt. The papyrus seems to settle this problem finally.

All manuscripts have φράξαν, which seems rather difficult to understand: the aorist cannot, as usual, express a completed action, since the giants' attempt to block the harbour was cut short by Heracles and his comrades. Delage's translation tries to solve the problem by taking the aorist as ingressive ('se mirent à obstruer'); Fränkel's alternative conjecture φράξαν απειρεσίαι κ'ε tries to avoid it by turning the sentence into an 'unreal' potential. The imperfect, on the other hand, seems entirely appropriate here, as an *imperfectum de conatu* which emphasises the incompleteness of the action.

απειρεσίη]c: unexplained ink between ρ and ε; it looks like an acute accent, but that makes no sense here. At the end the papyrus breaks off after the iota adscript; no doubt it had the dative plural ending in -η(ς). απειρεσίη, which is printed in most modern editions, is a conjecture by A. Platt (*Journ. of Phil.* 33 (1914) 12–3); all MSS have απειρεσίω. Platt argued that the epithet 'boundless' could not apply to a harbour (Χυτόν), and could hardly look back to ὄβρεος in the preceding line; whereas it was suitable and effective if applied to πέτρης (cf. Q.S. 8.164 etc). Fränkel's conjecture απειρεσίαι κ'ε was designed to deal with the problem of φράξαν. We cannot in fact exclude the possibility that the papyrus had απειρεσίη]c κ'ε. But (a) the reading φράσσον solves the problem by itself; and (b) -η(ς) occurs far more often than -η(ς) in Apollonius (almost three quarters of the cases; cf. A. Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 65, 70).

991 οίά': the acute accent seems to cross an apostrophe (intended to clarify the word-division?).

992/993 There are two horizontal strokes in the margin, one apparently referring to each line. Their purpose is uncertain. If they are βελοί, they might indicate spurious verses, according to the system used for Homer (*Anecdota Romanum* ap. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* II 411); cf. R. L. Fowler, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 18. But (a) though modern scholars have suspected interpolation (H. Fränkel, *Einleitung* 37), I know no evidence for ancient ἀθετήσεις in Apollonius; (b) these two verses could not be removed without leaving 994 incomplete. Perhaps the strokes simply mark the lines as difficult; 993 certainly needed extensive correction.

993 ηρακλεωδηγαρ was written first, then corrected to ηρακλεωδ'όδη, the reading of all MSS. At least part of this alteration may be due to the original scribe; the supralinear addition may be his, but looks clumsy. I cannot account for the first version; unless the sentence structure was radically different, it is hard to make sense of ηρακλεω or of δη γάρ (this begins 996, but I cannot see any mechanical reason why the scribe should have imported it here).

[ . ] : the space and the trace (a very deep descender) would suit ]c]φ[ι, the next word in the MSS text.

994 τοξον: so all MSS: παντας written above, perhaps by the first hand (see note on 993). The variant clearly derives from the Homeric phrase on which Apollonius is modelling himself, παντας επακκυνέρον πέλασε χθονι πολυβοτρηρη (*Il.* 12.194; 16.418). But here τόξον seems indispensable, unless (a) the second part of 993 was quite different in this version or (b) παλίνοτον was used as a substantive, which is unlikely (the examples cited by LSJ refer only to military engines). For variants deriving from 'the Homeric permeation of scribes' see M. W. Haslam, *JCS* 3 (1975) 56 ff.

995 αμφιρόγα]c. The papyrus and all the primary manuscripts except E have the unusual word αμφι(ρ)όγας, which is glossed in Σ<sup>2</sup> (it occurs again only in AP 6.109, doubtfully assigned to Antipater of Thessalonica by Gow and Page, *Garland of Philip* II 63); E and Σ<sup>1</sup> preserve the more common (but here unmetrical) ἀπορογας, which Homer (*Od.* 13.98) and Callimachus (*La. Pall.* 41–2), and indeed Xenophon (*An.* 6.4.3) and other prose writers use in a similar context (see A. W. Bulloch on *Call. La. Pall.* 41–2; Polyb. 10.48,5; Arist. *HA* 611<sup>a</sup>21).

There is a further question about the spelling: the papyrus has -ρ-, whereas the MSS have -ρρ-. Modern editors print -ρρ- in such forms (for Apollonius cf. Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 58 f.), sometimes but not always with an eye to prosody and etymology. Ancient practice varied; Aristarchus and others seem to have preferred the single consonant (see Σ *Il.* 9.78a with Erbse's note).

996 και κείνα: κείνενα MSS (and similarly at 1.83; 1.972; 4.1441; 4.1731). Some modern editors have accepted the forms with crasis, on the evidence of the MSS and of the parallel between 1.972 and Call.

fr. 274Pf (= *Heale* fr. 45 Hollis), where EG transmits *κακείνω* (Rzach, *Gramm. Studien* 473; Vian I Introd. lxxiv). But it is certain that Apollonius, unlike Callimachus, never uses the form *κείνω*: hence Fränkel (app. crit. to 1.83) and Livrea (comm. on 4.1731) argue for *καί κείνω* without crasis. The papyrus supports this view. The same problem was being debated by ancient Homeric scholars (and this debate may have influenced Apollonius); Aristarchus at least recommended *καί κείνω* in such cases, on the general rule that Homer avoided *εκείνος* unless the metre required it (*Σ II.* 3.402 etc.). Much later, Quintus Smyrnaeus seems to follow the Aristarchean rule: F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica...* (1959) 160.

998 *εινω*: so MSS. The first letter is damaged; and the most substantial trace, a short oblique descending from left to right, a little below the line, seems too long for *c*. On the other hand, there is not enough ink for  $\xi$ . (The MSS normally transmit *εινω*, and some examples are metrically guaranteed (e.g. 1.70, 111, 415, 512); by contrast there are only two passages where the metre requires  $\xi\omega\nu$  (Campbell, *Index* 193: 3.1279, 4.72). Here, in the initial position,  $\xi\omega\nu$  would be neither required nor excluded.)

$\omega\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ . Above *a* an  $\omega$  is carefully drawn. Since *a* is not crossed out, this is not a correction but a variant. To judge from the ink and the letter-form (though it is difficult to be certain with a single letter), the addition was made by the original scribe: probably, therefore, he found the variant already present in his exemplar.

The problem whether to write  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$  or  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$  (=  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ ), and in that case whether  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  or  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ , has been intensively discussed by ancient and modern scholars (see most recently M. Campbell (1994) on *Arg.* 3.176). The variants in the MSS of Apollonius reflect this debate, see the list in Vian I, introd. lxxvi f.; here too Apollonius or his interpreters might have been influenced by Homeric scholarship, since at *Iliad* 2.1 and 10.1 Zenodotus wrote  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  for the initial  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  and was criticised for it (see e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* p. 6.1–6 Uhlig). Since  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  is the *lectio difficilior*, and explicitly attested by EG<sup>B</sup> s.v. (text in Wendel, *Schol. Apol.* 95, 19 n.), it is likely to be the right reading; as for the breathing, I accept the argument of H. Erbse, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 19, in favour of  $\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ . But the papyrus demonstrates that, in this verse at least, both variants were circulating c. 200 AD.

999 The *diastole* after  $\pi\epsilon\rho$  (a curving stroke close to the loop of  $\rho$ , less likely to represent an acute accent on  $(\gamma\eta\eta\epsilon\nu)\epsilon(\omega\nu)$  in 1000) serves to exclude the articulation  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ . In 1005 the purpose is not so clear.

1001  $\eta\delta\epsilon$ : so all MSS. But the damaged eta (larger than usual) seems to have been corrected in a different ink (two small strokes join the feet, and there is a stroke beneath it). Above it  $\omega$  has been added. This suggests a new variant of  $\delta\epsilon$ , which might also imply a corresponding  $\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  instead of  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  in 1000. This construction would separate the warriors into two groups with two different kinds of weapons, whereas  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - $\eta\delta\epsilon$  expresses the idea that they all used bows and spears.

1002 ... [substantial traces, but on badly disarranged fibres.

1004  $\nu\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota$ : further ink below  $\lambda\omicron\sigma$ , perhaps a hyphen.

$\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\theta\omicron\nu$ :  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\theta\omicron\nu$   $\Omega$ :  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\eta\theta\omicron\nu$  E.

1007  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\ \omega\iota$ :  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  MSS (apparently; editors cite no variant?). The punctuation of the papyrus opposes  $\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  to  $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$  1009, 4.199 ff. looks parallel:  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\ \omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  ...  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$  ...  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ . But there  $\alpha\lambda\lambda$  suitably introduces the imperatives. Here the opposite particle does not suit the context;  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$  should be retained.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4415. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 198–208; 240–258

102/192(a)

6.2 × 13.9 cm

Second/third century

This papyrus has the lower part of one column, with nineteen line-beginnings, and a few line-ends from the preceding column. The margin between columns was of 1–2 cm; a lower margin of 1.9 cm is preserved. In some parts the surface is stripped, so that only the lower layer of fibres survives.

The text is written across the fibres. On the other side is a document, upside down in relation to the literary text on the verso. Line-beginnings in a good cursive assignable

to the late second or early third century; one can read  $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  (g) and amounts in aouras, which suggests a land-register or the like.

Lines 198–200 in col. i range approximately with 242–244 in col. ii. Thus, the total number of verses per column must have been about 44–45, if the number of lines coincided with the text transmitted in the MSS. 258 was the last line of a column; the text up to that point would occupy 6 columns of c. 43 lines, so that our two columns are the fifth and sixth of the original roll. The columns must have been c. 28 cm high, and approximately 16 cm wide (so that the whole Book would occupy a length of about 5.60 m).

The script is a rather informal example of the ‘Severe Style’, which has some cursive features; notice  $\beta$  written with a long flat base at line-level. Dated parallels are Roberts, *GLH* 20a (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 84)<sup>1</sup> and 21a; these both come from the earlier part of the third century, but a date for our papyrus in the later second century could hardly be ruled out.

There are a number of acute accents, one circumflex (244) and one elision mark (246); high stop 198. All the lectional signs seem to be the work of the first hand.

	col. i		col. ii
		240	$\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\beta\epsilon\varsigma$
			$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\epsilon[\pi\epsilon\nu$
198	$\text{Αιτωλοισι} \nu'$		$\text{Ζευ α}[\nu\alpha$
	$\text{ακον}]\tau\iota$		$\eta\rho\omega\omega[\nu$
200	$\text{αντιφερε}[\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$		$\text{αυτῆ}[\mu\alpha\rho$
	]	245	$\text{Αιήτ}[\epsilon\omega$
	]		$\alpha\lambda\lambda' \text{ου} [$
	]		$\omega\varsigma \text{φά}[\sigma\alpha\nu$
	]		$\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda[a$
205	]		$\epsilon\nu\chi\omicron[\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$
	]	250	$\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta [$
	]		$\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta [$
	]		$\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta[\epsilon\nu$
	]		$\text{Αίσαγ} [$
	]		$\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau[\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$

<sup>1</sup>*GLH* 20a (VII 1016: Plato, *Phaedrus*) stands on the verso of the register VII 1044, which L. C. Youtie has since dated c. 233/4; see most recently M. S. Funghi and G. Messeri Savorelli, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 81–2.

255 νειόθ[ι  
 η όφε[ ] . . [ ]  
 κυμ[α] μ[. ] . [ ]  
 ανδ[. ] μ[. ] . [ ]  
 foot

198–200 The identification is reasonably secure from the letters surviving in 199–200; the high stop in 198 fits very well (it is the end of the long sentence 193–8).

198 Αττωλοισι]ν: editors print Αττωλοισι, since the next line begins with a consonant; for such variants see on 4414 167.

208 Presumably παροβ[ε]: editors print -θεν (the next line begins with a vowel). See on 198.

256 η όφε[ ] . . [ ]: ώς όφελεν Ω. In the papyrus, ο was apparently corrected (from ω?); after ε, λε[ could be read (doubtful traces on partly-stripped fibres). ώς όφελεν is a normal expression (*Arg.* 3.773; with *albe* 1.278, *al* γάρ 3.712), but the introductory particle is not strictly necessary (3.678), and 3.466 ή μὲν όφελεν might serve as a parallel here, especially after 253 ή τε. That seems at least more likely than supposing that someone understood a disjunction, ή τε οι ήεν . . . ή όφελεν.

257 μ[. ] . [ ]: μέλαν Ω, but the trace (on damaged fibres) suggests the foot of an upright rather than the oblique of λ.

258 ανδ[. ] μ[. ] . [ ]: άνδρομένην Ω: γρ. Αντιόπην.]<sup>msB<sup>ms</sup></sup>. Space and trace would allow ανδ[ρο]μ[ε]η[ν].

U. WARTENBERG

**4416.** APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 285–6; 302–6; 309–21; 328–32

69/2(a) <sup>ab</sup> fr. I 11.5 × 13.5 cm Second century  
 fr. 2 11.5 × 9.5 cm

These two fragments preserve upper and lower parts of the same two columns. The writing is across the fibres, and a sheet-join can be seen running vertically some 2 cm in from the left-hand edge. Thus the literary text stands on the verso of the original roll. On the recto, in a professional cursive assignable to the second century, stands a documentary text, apparently a register of land-holdings. On fr. 1 nothing is visible but an isolated figure. Fr. 2.5 reads ] Αριστάνδρου δι' ύπογεωργ(ών) αντ[(οϋ), 6 ends (δρ.) ed. [ (I owe the readings to Dr. J. R. Rea).

This was originally a spacious and elegant copy. The intercolumnar margin is between 4 and 5 cm, the surviving lower margin about 4 cm. Col. ii must have contained 26 lines, to an estimated height of 27 cm. If we add 4 cm for the lower margin, and (say) 3 cm for the upper, the roll would measure c. 34 cm high. This would make it unusually tall for a literary roll: in the list of Kenyon, *Books and Readers* (1951) 50–1, the tallest roll cited measures 33 cm (PTebt II 268); of the Oxyrhynchite rolls analysed by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale, 1992) only 3 out of 45 reach this sort of height (XVII 2097, XLVII 3322, XLIX 3447). It may well be that documentary rolls, such as this was originally, tended to larger sizes. In this format, *Argonautica* I would take up exactly 23 columns, and occupy nearly 5 m of papyrus.

The text is written in a large, regular, beautiful script assignable to the second century. For similar (but more formal) literary hands see VIII 1082, Cercidas, and the parallels collected by G. Menci, *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Pap.* (1984) I 51–6; there is also a close likeness to the carefully written documents PGissUniv 20 (pl. I) (mentioning an epistrategus of c. 115) and PBrem 5 (pl. I) (c. 117–9). The scribe sometimes divides words (312, 314). There are *diareseis* (304; 314) and a few high stops at line-ends, no accents, but possibly one breathing (311). Iota adscript is written when necessary. Elision is made but not marked.

	col. i		col. ii
fr. 1			
			η Ανκινην [
		285?	310 τοιος ανα π[ληθυν
	]ι		κεκλωμενων άμ[υδις
	] .		Ιφιας Αρτεμιδος πο[λιτοχου
	] .		και μιν δεξιτερης [
	] .		εμπης ιεμ[ε]νη δυ[νατο
	] .	315	αλλ η μ[ε]ν [
	] .		οπλοτε[ρων
	] .		αυταρ επ[ει
	] .		ακτην [
	] .		δειδεχ[ατ
	] [	320	ε]τη δ[
			εε] δε[νοησεμ
fr. 2			
	] .		εε]χο τοις δε[ αγορην
	επαρων]ηι'		αυτο διελλο[μεινοις
	εκη]λοσ		330 κεκλιμενωι μαλ[α
	] ηηι'		τοιων δε Αιωνος υ[ιοσ
305	κιο]ντι'		αλλα μιν οσα τε [νηι
	νε]εσθαι'		foot
	foot		foot





625 may well be by the first hand; the two apostrophes (631, 633), both rather large, seem to be by a second. Iota adscript is not written in 629 (inside a word).

There seems to be a new but puzzling reading in 631.

. . . . .  
 ] και το[ν  
 προσθε]ν α[ταρ] Ζικ[νον  
 625 νησον ε]πακτη<sup>ς</sup>ε[  
 Νηιας Ο]νοι νυμ[φη  
 ταισι ] δε βουκολιαι τ[ε  
 τευχ]εα· πυροφορου[ε  
 ρ]η<sup>ς</sup>τερον παχησ[ω  
 630 οισ αιε]ι το παροιθεν [  
 η θαμ]α· <sup>ς</sup>ει πάπται[ον  
 δεμμα]τι λευγαλέω[  
 [τ]ω και ότ' εγ[γ]υθ[ι  
 . . . . .

624 Ζικ[νον: so Ω EM: σηκόνδε Σ Pind. *Ol.* 4.31b.

627 ταισι Ω Σ<sup>Ω</sup>: τήσι Brunck. The spacing does not show which the papyrus had.

631 θαμ]α· <sup>ς</sup>ει: θαμ<sup>α</sup> δ<sup>η</sup> MSS. For the first five surviving letters there is a gap between the horizontal fibres, so that the scribe's pen rode unevenly across the rough surface; this coupled with physical damage makes it hard to decide what the papyrus had. Lambda may be a candidate for the dotted letter; the apostrophe might rather suggest δ. But I do not see how to articulate the text.

N. GONIS

#### 4419. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 740–50

112/132(a)

3.6 × 5.2 cm

Second/third century

A small fragment, written along the fibres, with the ends of eleven verses; back blank. The script is of a common type ('Severe Style'), slightly inclined to the right. The hand of IX 1174 (= Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 34), assigned by its editors to the late second century, makes a close parallel. There is one elision mark and one diaeresis, both by the main scribe (746); high stop in 747.

Two Apollonius papyri, previously published by Kingston as XXXIV 2698 (no plate), are probably written by the same scribe as our papyrus. Those, too, contain passages from *Arg.* I (794–807; 919–37). The line-spacing in the two published fragments is the same as in our new piece. 2698 contains supralinear letters, which preserve variant readings. There are no such additions in the new fragment.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [  
 740 νικε]το πετρη [   
 ] Κυθερεια [   
 ε]κ δε οι ωμον [   
 κε]χ<sup>α</sup>λαστο χι[τωνος   
 745 αν]τιον ατρεκ[ε[   
 ] φαινετ' ιδεε[θαι   
 νομο]ς· αμφι δε βο[υσι   
 ] Ηλεκτρων[ο[   
 εθε]λοντε[ε[   
 750 ] . . [  
 . . . . .

740 ] . . [. Small remains of two or three letters: λω]απ[ων seems possible.

742 Κυθερεια: so Ω: Κυθερειή E. At the end, a low oblique trace is well suited to the left-hand angle of α, but not to η.

750 ] . . [. Two tiny ink blots at the upper line-level should be part of 750, but are not identifiable otherwise.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4420. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 754–58

114/46(a)

2.4 × 3 cm

Second century

A small scrap with remains of five lines. The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank. The script belongs with such 'informal round' hands as Roberts, *GLH* 13b (PLitLond 132, Hyperides), to be assigned to the second century and probably to its first half.

There are three accents, all by the first hand, on these few words, which might indicate that the papyrus had quite a large number of them; there may be a further lectional sign in 754, added by a second hand. Iota adscript seems to be duly written in 757.

. . . . .  
 οι] ξικε παρ[αιβατικ   
 755 μεταδρ]ομάδην [   
 Ονο]μαος προστενε[   
 πλη]μνηρι[ε[   
 ] . . [  
 . . . . .

754 ἔσκε. There are two damaged strokes above the first ε, one of them shaped like an open triangle in a browner and lighter ink. Both could be accents, although the one to the left may conceivably be a breathing which is slightly damaged; cf. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11 for this type of accent, which he classified as form 3.

758 ] . [ . Only a short oblique stroke at the upper line-level survives, which looks like an accent. To the right the top of a letter (μ or ν?). Assuming that the text of the papyrus conformed to that of the MSS, the spacing suggests επεεεὐ]μ[ενοc.

U. WARTENBERG

**4421. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* I 835–43, 866–74**

93/Jan 3/A1

14.1 × 4.3 cm

Fifth century

A triangular fragment from the right-hand part of a leaf of a parchment codex, heavily smudged and abraded, especially on the hair side. On the hair side the left-hand margin is preserved to 2 cm, and possibly is the original. There were approximately 31 verses to a page; assuming that the number of verses to a page was more or less uniform throughout the poem, the complete *Argonautica* (5755 verses) would have occupied about 186 pages of the codex. On the basis that 8 verses have a depth of 3.7 cm, the written height is calculable at c. 14.4 cm. The width of the column must have measured approximately 13 cm (842 is complete except for four letters); allowing for a possible margin of c. 5 cm on all sides, we may reconstruct the dimensions of the page as around 18 × 19.4 cm. With this format the codex may be classified among the examples of class V of parchment codices (c. 20/17 × 25/21 cm), as described in E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 27.

The text has been written in a metal-based ink, now turned brown. The script can be classified as a specimen of the so-called 'sloping pointed majuscule'. Noticeable features of the hand include its general bilinearity, the marked contrast of thick and thin strokes, and the presence of ornamentation in the form of finials (chiefly smallish blobs) on the extremities of most letters; note also the form of κ, with its arms detached from the vertical. By comparison with G. Cavallo, H. G. T. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* nos. 17a (mid- or second half of fifth century) or 23a (fifth/sixth century), a date within the latter part of the fifth century appears likely.

The parchment has been dry-ruled on the hair side. The text is so richly equipped with lectional signs as to suggest systematic diorthosis. The original scribe wrote all the apostrophes, signalling elisions wherever they occur, and the diastole after οκ in 840. He may also have been responsible for the punctuation, in the form of high points. The extensive range of lectional signs (with the exception of smooth breathings, the text seems to have been all but fully marked up) seems largely due to a second hand, as may be seen from the different colour of the ink (also brown, but paler). The second hand has also added iota adscripts where required, although once presumably in error (842, see note below), and perhaps is to be given credit for the two corrections in 873.

There is a variant above 843, written in a fast smallish script, perhaps by the second hand, as may be implied by the ink colour. A third hand (black ink) must have intervened in 842 (see note). A probable gloss is partially preserved in the margin opposite 839, but there is no way of telling who wrote it.

There are new readings in 842, 843, 874, and probably 869. In 842 and 843 interlinear variants (or corrections?), which do not differ from the rest of the manuscript tradition, were introduced at a later stage. In 874 the new reading seems a good one, and leaves room to think that a modern conjecture may hold true. In 869, although decipherment is difficult, there is the possibility that another modern conjecture is substantiated.

Flesh side

835 παρα]βλη[δην  
 ]αντια[σαιμει  
 ceθε]ν χατέουσι[ν  
 αν]α πτόλων εὐτ' αυ[ η βι  
 ανα]κτορή δε μελέεθω  
 840 εγω]γε μὲν οκ' αθερίζων  
 ]. [ αλ]λα με λυγροὶ επισπέρχουcιν ἀεθλοί·  
 c [.] [.]  
 η κα]ι δεξιτερή' χειροc θινεν' αἴψα δ' οπίccω  
 αλλοθεν αλλαι  
 βη ρ' ι]μεν' αμφι δε τόνγε νεήνι[δ]εc ἀλλυδιc ἀλλη'

Hair side

. . . [ . . .  
 κειθ]εν ου[οcαιμενοι  
 να]ιονταc λιπ[αρην  
 ο]ν . ν . κκλ[.] . [.] . [ . . .  
 870 εccόμεθ' ὦδ' επι δηρο[ν  
 αυτόματον δώκει τ[ιc  
 ἴομεν αὐτιc ἕκαcτοι επι cφε[α  
 Υψ[ε] υπύληc εἶατε πανήμερον ε'cόκε Αη[μνον  
 παicιν [.] . ] ανδρώcη' μεγάλη δ' επι β[αξιc

839 mrg. Perhaps ἡ βασιλεία, a gloss on ἀνακτορή (same gloss in Cyril, see Latte's Hesychius s.v. ἀνακτορία).

841 ] [. Perhaps part of χ of χάρισμα, but that cannot be confirmed.

842 κὰι. What I take as iota is the top of a tall upright. Other iotas are considerably shorter, but the final iota of ἀέθλοι is also taller than usual.

δεξιτερή<sup>4</sup>. The second hand added the circumflex and inserted a smallish iota adscript high in the line; apparently at a later stage a third hand wrote a smallish sigma, which thus brought the parchment's reading into line with what we know from the medieval tradition.

There is a trace above the ε of θυγεν: an acute accent is expected here, but its shape does not suggest that. Nor does it suit a diaeresis.

843 τόνγε: so m: τόνδε S in error.

νεμί[δ]ε: so Ω: νήιδε E. There seems to be some ink above iota: part of a diaeresis?

ἀλλοδὲ ἀλλη and above the line ἀλλοθεν ἀλλαι: ἀλλοθεν ἄλλαι MSS. The new variant is not impossible: cf. 2.980 (ἀλλοδὲ ἄλλη), 4.1293, 1462, as well as H. II. 11.486, 12.461, etc.

866–74. The ink is often faded or obscured; dotted letters should be treated with caution.

866 ]ηε[ with the MSS acceptable.

868 There seems to be a middle point between the two surviving words.

869 ο]ν ν̄ υκλ[ ] [ ] [ ]: οὐ μὰν εὐκλειεῖ Ω: οὐ μὰλ' εὐκλειεῖ Q. Fränkel: οὐ μὲν εὐκλειεῖ Hoelzlin. After ν too little remains to confirm μ. The barytone accent that follows rules out μὰλ', and I think the trace suggests the top of ε rather than α, that is μὲν with Hoelzlin. After ν it is impossible to read ε with the manuscripts: what is visible looks like λ or the right-hand part of μ.

870 ἐσόμεθ': ἐσόμεθ' MSS: ἐσόμεθ' Fränkel (*Noten zu den Argonautica des Apollonios* 116). In the text as preserved the rough breathing has been added in all possible cases (870, 872, 873), and this may well have been the diorthotes' practice throughout the text. Thus the fact that no rough breathing seems to have been written here may indicate that 4421 offers the same reading as the MSS.

871 ἀντόματον: so Ω, Σ 2.333–4a: ἀντόματος G, 'fortasse recte' (Vian).

872 ἑκαστοί: so Ω: ἑκαστος E.

873 Ἰψ[ε]ἰπύλης. ε has been crossed out by a cancelling stroke.

πανῆμερον. A case of *interaspiratio*, cf. XXXIV 2699 30, 34.

874 [ ] [ ] ἀνδρώση<sup>4</sup>: ἐπανδρώση w: εανδρώση v.l. L, v.l. A, E, Sch. (Ms. J) (-cei LA): εανδρώση West. Decipherment is very uncertain. Before the putative α a faint trace high in the line, perhaps belonging to an upright. For the reading see M. L. West, *CR* 13 (1963) 9, and F. Vian, *REA* 72 (1970) 93.

μεγάλη δ' ἐπι β[άξ]ι: μεγάλη τέ ἐ βάξι Ω: μεγάλη δέ ἐ βάξι Faerber (*Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica* 94 n. 3). The parchment presumably had μεγάλη δ' ἐπι βάξι ἔκρηται; cf. 1.661 κακή δ' ἐπι πολλὸν ἔκρηται βάξι. For this verse see Vian's note, who stresses that 'il n'y a pas lieu de suspecter non plus le dernier hémistiche' (p. 91 n. 2). The new reading does not help us eliminate suspicions.

N. GONIS

#### 4422. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Arg.* I 972–81; 1089–94

fr. 1 87/303(a)  
fr. 2 88/H42C

3 × 5.5 cm  
6 × 3.5 cm

Second/third century

The two fragments, though separated by c. 100 lines of text, look as though they were written by the same scribe, and therefore probably belong to the same roll. The text is written along the fibres; the back is blank. Fr. 2 preserves about 1 cm of the intercolumnar margin. The hand is a fine upright 'Severe Style', assignable to the second/third century. A paragraphos between 1091 and 1092 marks the beginning of a speech. There are no other lectional signs, except perhaps a diaeresis in 1092 and a diastole in 973.

fr. 1

. . . . .  
]. [ . . . . .  
πα]ιδεσ'·ει[ν  
|δωματ α[κηρατος  
975 Μερο]πος Περκ[ωσιου  
εμπλο]καμος τηη [ . . . . .  
εδν]οικυ ανη[γαγεν  
θα]λαμον τε λ[επων  
] αε[γ]υνε βα[λεω  
980 ερεε]ων αμο[ιβαδιδ  
ναυτ]ιλιησ ανυ[ειω  
. . . . .

fr. 2

. . . . .  
νημ]υ [α]φλαστοι[ο  
1090 τὸν δ' ὄ [γ]ε κελμ[ενον  
κεινησας ανεγ[ειρε  
Αικονι]δη  
Δινδυ]μου  
μητρε]ρα  
. . . . .

973 πα]ιδεσ'·ει[ν]: between the two sigmas a dot is visible: it looks like a diastole, which is sometimes used to separate double mutes or liquids, but not normally sibilants; cf. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11 and n. 50.

1090 τὸν δ' ὄ [γ]ε: so Ω: τὸν δέ γε E. The trace after δ suits ο better than ε.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4423–6. ARATUS

We publish here all the remaining papyri of the *Phaenomena* so far identified in the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society. This adds substantially to the representation of Aratus on papyrus:

4423 . . . . . *Phaen.* 42–68, 79–83, ii–iii AD Oxy  
103–37

PBerol 5865 (BKT V i p. 54) [M. Machler, <i>APF</i> 27 (1980) 19–32]	marginal scholia on parts of 146 337	iii–iv AD	
<b>4424</b>	324–336	ii–iii AD	Oxy
<b>4426</b>	commentary on 452–5	ii–iii AD	Oxy
PHamb II 121	480–94	ii BC	
<b>4425</b>	516–525	i–ii AD	Oxy
PVindob G40603R [Kramer, <i>ZPE</i> 49 (1982) 69]	542–50	ii–iii AD	
PBerol 7503 + 7804 (BKT V i p. 47)	642–55, 684–802, 855–83, 922–34	i–ii AD	
PLitLond 34 + PRain III 17 (Lenaerts, <i>CE</i> 43 (1968) 356–62]	741–53 etc.	iv AD	Socnopaei Nesus?
XV 1807 + PKöln IV 185	914–933	ii AD	Oxy
PLitLond 35	944–57	i AD	

**4423. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 42–68, 79–83, 103–37**

88/210

Fr. 10 3 × 5.2 cm

Second/third century

Mr Lobel had assembled some forty fragments of a manuscript of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. Five turn out not to belong; the rest (reduced by combination to fifteen) can be placed within three consecutive columns, the first of which was the second of the whole roll. Columns iii and iv of the roll contained 34 verses each, and, since the last verse of column ii is 68, it is safe to assume that columns i and ii did so too. In col. iv the height of the written area is about 20.9 cm; the preserved upper margin is 2.7 cm, the preserved lower margin 2.9 cm. The maximum width of the written column is about 18.6 cm (105, as restored); the space between col. iii and iv was at least 1.9 cm. The whole poem would have taken 34 columns, with a roll at least 7 m. long.

The scribe practises a fine 'Severe Style' (Turner's 'Formal Mixed'). Comparable hands are to be found in the group of MSS quoted in Lobel's introduction to XLV 3215 (assigned by him to ii AD, but to iii AD by Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 149 n. 48), in LVI 3822 (Pindar, *Paeans*), X 1234 (Alcaeus), XVII 2098 (Herodotus), XXI 2302 (Alcaeus).

The hand of our papyrus is distinguishable from some of these parallels for being on the whole rather upright. Accents (whose shape is not regular, and sometimes careless) and punctuation marks look normally to have been written in a darker ink and were probably provided by a different hand or at a later time. Several hands have contributed (a) corrections *supra lineam* and (b) marginalia. (a) In 57 the correction, by a different hand, smaller than that of the text, but in a very similar ink, has been crossed out by a stroke in a darker ink; in 130 the correction is in a darker ink than the stroke which deletes the original reading. The correction in 57 is written with a thicker pen than the one in 130, but it is difficult to tell if they are by different hands too. (b) The hand that wrote, with a thick pen, the note in the margin of 130 f. looks different from the one in the margin of 124 f. The latter may be the same that wrote the correction *supra lineam* in 130 (and possibly in 49) and the marginal note to the left of 108. Neither annotator can be identified with the scribe of the text.

My information on the medieval MSS is derived largely from Martin's edition. His apparatus is however unsatisfactory, in part also as a consequence of the assessment of the MSS tradition provided by Martin himself (cf. R. Keydell, *Gnomon* 30 (1958) 582 on the omissions of S's readings; this is why I have often quoted Maass's C and O (= Parisinus gr. 2728, Vat. Pal. gr. 137), faithful copies of S according to J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956) 234). Supplementary information is derived from the editions of Maass (1893), Bekker (1818) and Buhle (1793).

## FR. 1–9 (col. ii 8–34?)

42 η δ ετερ]η [μιοτε]ρη[ι  
τηι κα]ι Ci[δουιοι  
45 τα]ς δ[ε ] δι[ειλ]έ]ται [μεγα θ] αυ[μα  
μ]υριος' αι [ δ ] αραι οι ζ[πειρης εκατερθε φ]ερ[ο]ντα[ι  
Αρ]κτοι κ[υα]νεου π[ε]φ[υλαγμεναι ωκε]ανοί[ο  
]υ  
50 αυ]ταρ ο γ' αλλη]ν μ[ε]ν ν[εατη] . . . . . ]υ]εται[  
αλ]λην δε ζπειρη[ι π]ερι[τεμνεται]ι [ η με]ν δι [ακρη  
ουρ]η παρ κεφαλ[η]ν Ελι[κης ] αποπαυ[ε]ται Αρ[κτου  
σπε]ιρηι δ ε[ν Κυ]νοσο[υρα] κρη εχει' η δε κ[ατ αυτην  
ειλειτ]αι [κ]εφ[αλη]ν και οι [πο]δος ερχεται αχρη[ι  
παλ]υρορος αυ[α]τρεχει' ου μεν εκε[ινη]

55 ] κεφαλή[ι επιλαμ]πεται α . ηρ  
 αλλα δ[ι]νω [κροτ]αφοις· δ[ι]νο δ ομμι[α]σιν· εις δ ὑπεν[ερθεν  
 [δρακοντος]  
 εσχατι]ην ε[π]εχει· γεν[υος δεινοι]ο πελωρου·  
 λοξου] δ' εστι καρη· νε[υοντι δε π]αμπαν εοικεν  
 ακρην ] εις Ελικης ου[ρην μαλ]α δ' εστι κατ ιθυ  
 60 και στο]μα και κροτ[αφοι]ο τα δε]ξια νειάτωι [·  
 κεινη] που κεφαλή[ ] τήι ν[ . . . ]ται ήιχι [π]ερ α[κραι  
 μισο]νται δύσιές τε και αν[τρο]λαι αλλη[λ]ησι[εν  
 τηιδ αυ]το[υ μο]γγέοντι κυλ[ινδρ]εται αν[δρ]ι· ε[οικος  
 ειδωλο]ν τ[ο μέ]ν [ο]ντις επι[στατα]ι· [α]μφ[ά]δδον [ει]πειν [·  
 65 κρε]μα[ται μ]ιν α[υτως  
 κα]λεου[ει καμ]νον[·  
 οκλαζον]τ[ι] εο]ικεν απ[αμ]φοτερων δε οι ωμ]ων [·  
 68 χειρες] αειρον[τ]αι τανυ[ται γε μεν] αλλυδισ αλλη]ηι [·

## Fr. 10 (col. iii 11-15)

79 ειςώ[ποι  
 80 λεπ[τ-  
 ] . αλλ[·  
 ·αμφ]οτεροι  
 83 διν[ευει

## Fr. 11-15 (col. iv 1-34)

103 ουδε π]οτ αρχαιων ηγην[α]το φύλα [γν]ναικων [·  
 α[λλ] α]ναμιξ εκαθητο και αθανατη περ εουσα· [·  
 105 κα[ι ε Δ]ικην καλεεσκον· αγειρομενη δε γεροντ[α]σ  
 η[ε π]ου εν αγορήι η ευρυχωρωι εν αγν[ιηι  
 ] . δημοτ[ερά]ς ηειδεν επισπυδουσα θεμ[ι]στα  
 ] . αδει ο[υ]πω λευγαλεου τοτε νεικεος ηπιστ[αν]το  
 ο[υ]δε διακρισιος περιμεμφεος ουδε κ[υ]δομιου  
 110 αυτωσ δ εζων· χαλεπη δ απεκειτο θα[λασσα  
 κ[αι] βιον οπω νηεσ απόπροθεν ηγει[νε]σκον  
 βοεσ και αροτρα και αυτη ποτνια [·  
 π]αντα παρειχε Δικη δώτειρα [·

115 ό |φρ' ετι γαια γενος χρυσειον εφερβεν  
 ολιγ]η τε και [ουκε]τι παμπα[ν  
 π]αλα[ιω]νηθεα λα[ων  
 κει]νο κ[ατ] αργ]υ[ρ]εον γ[ενοσ  
 νη]οδ[ειλοσ] ηχηέντ[ων ] [·  
 120 επεμυσγετ]ο μελιχι[οισιν ] [·  
 ] πλήσαι[το κολ]ωνασ.[·  
 καθαπτομ]ενη κακ[οτητοσ ]·  
 κ]αλεουσι[ν ]  
 γενε]ην ελιπ[οντο ] χρυσιο[·  
 τε]ξεί[εσ]θ[ε ] διετέλε[·  
 ] [ρθμ] [·  
 125 αν]αρ[σιον ] αιμα· κ[·  
 127 τα]υς [δ α]ρα λαουσ [·  
 ελιμπα]νε παπτάινοντας [·  
 ετεθνασ]α[ν]· οι δ [ε]γενοντο [·  
 ται[·  
 130 ολο]ω[τερ] [οι ] ανδρεσ· ανδ[·  
 εχαλκευσ]α[ν]το μαχ[αιρα]ν ετερε[·  
 α]ροτ[ηρ]ων[·  
 κει]νω[ν γεν]ο[σ·  
 ] δ αρ ε[νασσα]το  
 φαινε]ται ανθρωποιωι  
 πολ]ύσκέπ[τοιο  
 ωμ]ων ειςε[·

42 η δ ετερ]η]. This verse (and 44) is omitted by S (it is unlikely that the trace in the papyrus might belong not to 42 but to 41, where an η is preceded by 4 letters).

46 ει]λέται: the rising oblique stroke above ]ε looks a bit too long to be part of the expected circumflex (cf 48 νοι].) . ] , dot well below the line, αι]φί?]

47 άι[ or perhaps just ά].

φ]ερο]νται[ε: φέρονται Hipparchus, M<sup>2</sup> supra lineam: φόνται M in textu, AC [←S?]; φονatur L.

49 ο γ', a dot on the ο, perhaps part of a rough breathing?

αλλη]ν: άλλην MSS S; άλληε Martin (incompatible with trace and space in the papyrus).

... ] [ν]εται[· ] ν written above ]ν] (prima facie ]εν, but it is conceivable that the apparent cross-bar of ]ε, thicker and perhaps in a different ink, might in fact be a deletion stroke). MSS and testimonia are divided here: επιτρένεται Hipparchus, Germanicus (cf. also Avienus 142 f. ut artus/longius effusus spatiosa volumina tendunt?); S: αποτρένεται M; επιτέλλεται M<sup>2</sup>; αποτρένεται ABEFH (according to Bekker's apparatus); ύποτρένεται Bekker's L (Laur.xxviii 37), Buhle's Cod.Barb. (= Vat.Barb. gr. i 43) [these mss are assigned by Martin, Histoire 247 ff., to M's Planudean progeny, which, according to Martin, op. cit. 289-294, has been contamin-

ated with some source belonging to a different branch of the tradition: coincidence with L should imply that some form ending in *-τέμεται* was at least a late antique variant]: *περιτέμεται* Buhle's Cod.Vratisl. (= Vratisl. Reh digeranus 35): *αἰταιαῖδι* L. In the papyrus both text and variant end in *-νεται*; it is possible to interpret the traces preceding *ν* *supra lineam* as the last part of *μ* (with a rather curved last stroke), crossed out by a horizontal stroke: on the other hand it would not be easy to read them as *ι*. I would therefore assume that the papyrus had a compound of *-τέμεται* in the text, and a compound of *-τέμεται* *supra lineam*. The latter might have been induced by *περιτέμεται* in 50 (though only [ε]ρι[ ]αι is preserved in the papyrus): cf. a similar variant in 541. *ἐπιτέμεται* (with the accusative *ἄλλην* governed by the prefix) is audacious and, in my opinion, the most effective reading.

55 *επιλαμπεται*: so MSS: *επιτέλλεται* M<sup>pp</sup>.

α. ηρι: *ἀρηρ* MSS. The papyrus' reading is uncertain: perhaps *αιθηρ*. The first doubtful letter is an upright, perhaps slightly inclined to the right: *ε* prima facie unlikely (but cf. 107 *επισπειδουσα*). Next to it an upper arc or, perhaps, a high horizontal; underneath it a dot low in the line might be part of a lower arc, but also the foot of an upright: *τ* would fill the gap better than *θ*, but is not particularly attractive. Of *η* only the feet are preserved. If *αιθηρ* was written, it must have been a mistake induced by the repetition of the previous ending in *-αι*: *αιθηρ* at line-end Aratus 1151, and often in other epic authors.

56 *δύω C a.c.*, O [-S?]: *δύο* rell., Sext.EMP.

*κροτῆφος* and *ομιλας*: so MSS (cf. also Avienus 153-154, *sed sacrosua duplex adolet duo tempora fulgor/et duo sub geminis oculi fulgoribus ardet*): *κροτάφους* et *ἑμματα* Sext.EMP. (Maass).

57 [δρακοντος] (added by a different hand, though in a similar ink, then crossed out in darker ink) was perhaps once meant as an explanation rather than as a variant, though the word occurs at line-end in 70 and 187.

61 ν[. . .]ται. MSS and testimonia offer *νίχεται*, *νίσεται* (so most editors), *νέικεται* (and, in some recentiores [Bekker's D and I=Par. gr. 2841 and Vat. gr. 1910], *νίςεται*). The space in the papyrus, which could hardly contain more than three letters, probably requires ν[ι]ε[ι]ται.

ήχι, iota apparently deleted by a dot above. Maass and Martin always print *ήχι*; at 457 and 495 however M has *ήχι*. The former is prescribed as the correct form by Aristarchus and Didymus, the latter by Apollonius Dyscolus (cf. Erbse ad *Σ* II. 1.607).

62 *αλλη[λ]ηρις* [w: *ἀλλήληριον* M, *ἀλλήλαιον* S? (CO), *αλληρι* L: *ἡλείοιο* Achilles (ter).

64 *μεν*, foot of an upright and traces level with letter-tops: the latter might also belong to the following o. [α]μφ[α]δόν: the first accent is vestigial, but too high to be part of the apex of a. If, as one would assume, *ἀμφαδόν* was meant, the second accent must be mistaken (cf. 107).

67 *εο* *ικεν*, after *κ* a lower arc at half height, whose shape suggests *ο* rather than part of the cross-bar of *ε*; above it a second hand has traced a rather wide left-hand arc (surface damaged to its right): it is possible that a blurred *ε* (or a mistaken *ο*) has been later adjusted to *ε*, but the final result is not satisfactory.

*απ*: so (*ἀπ*) Φ, M in rasura: *ἐπ* M ante correctionem? et in marg., A.

68 *αλληρι*: all the MSS have *ἄλλοδις ἄλλη*, *ἄλλοδις ἄλλη* (frequent hexameter ending from Homer on) means 'now one way, now another'; the expected meaning ('one <hand> this way, one that') is provided by the MSS reading.

80-81 On the edge, 1.5 cm to the left, a short vertical trace, presumably the end of a marginal note to the right of 46-47.

82 To the left of *α*, a dot at half-height. This is probably accidental; there is no sign elsewhere that this scribe used 'alignment dots' to guide his line-spacing (for examples see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 4).

103 *ηριμ[α]ρι*: so MSS: *ἡνιρματο* M.

107 *θημωτάρι*: above *α*, a shallow arc (in the position of a grave accent), touching its top: a mistaken accent, rather than a false start to the letter.

*επισπειδουσα*: *επισπειδουσα* C (cf. the lemma of Σ in A); *επισπερχουσα* M. The scholia in M explain *επισπερχουσα* as *επισπειδουσα*, *επειδουσα*, *διδάσκουσα*. M's reading is slightly more 'poetic' (cf. LSJ s.vv.) and *difficilior*.

107-108 To the left, line-ends from marginalia corresponding to 73-74 in the preceding column: 1 ] , upright (perhaps joined from the left at the base by a descending oblique); 2 ] *αδαι*, foot of a descending oblique.

109 *περιμμεφός*: *περιμμεφός* M and other MSS, Stob. 4.378: *πολυμμεφός* M<sup>pp</sup> AC, lemma of Σ in some mss.

110 *δέζων*: implying δ' *έζων* (so most editors).

*ασκευτο*: so MSS: *επέκευτο* Tzetzes.

111 *ηρες*: after *η*, there is space for two letters; *ε* is written high up in this space, almost certainly by a different hand, with no clear traces of ink below (the surface is damaged, but some of the horizontal fibres survive). *ε* does not look like any normal letter in the main hand: it is possible to see the lower part of an upright (cut off by damage at the foot) and, extending rightwards from its top (the junction falls in a hole), a dipped horizontal sloping gently down. Presumably this was a sigma of the cursive type, with extended top, but it would be written lower than *ε* preceding, though still higher than *α* following.

*ηρε* [νεκον: above the last two letters a horizontal stroke (same ink as the main text?), crossed out by a rising oblique stroke in a darker ink (two attempts toward an accent?). *ηγνώσκον* MSS (cf. *genetis* L, from *γνώσκον*?). Though it must have been an easy spelling mistake (such as it probably was in Call. fr. go PF.), the form with the diphthong was probably intentional in this passage. The verb was sometimes spelt *άγνευσι*: cf. Ap. lex. 6, 8, Hsch. A 412, 414, Il. 24.784 in cod. T and Plit.Lond. 28. Hesychius connects this spelling with the explanations *άγνευ εν νηι, το επι νεων άγνευ και εν ναυσι κυρωως*, which is very apposite in this context. It is impossible to tell if this form originates here from the author's intention (which I would not rule out), or from the thoughts of some later learned scholar.

115 *πημπα*[v, of the dotted letters only minimal traces remain.

120 Unexplained ink under the last two letters: accidental?

122 *κλακευσι*: so codd. perique: *χατέουσι* recentiores quidam (Par. gr. 2403 *manus altera*, Buhle's Mosquiuensis Syn. Gr. 223=now Charecovensis Univ. 369j) and Vratisl. [Rehdigeranus 35], Vat. gr. 1910), perhaps an ancient variant.

123-124, marginal notes: 1 *χρυσι* [or *χρυσι*] , 2 *διετέλε*[ε], *ε* represented by two broken traces in vertical alignment. I cannot explain the spelling *χρυσι*- (since the text refers to the Golden Age, one would expect rather some form of *χρυσοδός*; a mention of *χρυσιών/χρυσιά* cannot however be ruled out).

124 *τεξέειε*[ε]θ[ε]: θ is represented only by a lower left-hand arc (*ε* would also be possible, but the spacing is less in favour). *τεξέειεθε* codd.: *τέκνα τεκείεθε* Kaibel, Martin.

125 [αρ] papyrus, [ρ]μ[ι] added above by a different hand, and crossed through: *ἀνάρσιον* codd.: *ἀνάρθμιον* Σ Q<sup>pp</sup>, Schol. Aesch. *Prom.* 191 (cf. Martin, *Scholias vetera* p. xxvi; Hsch. s.v. *ἀνάρθμιον* [ἀνάρθμιον Salm.] *εχθρόν*).

In the right margin, *κ* with a rising oblique trace above. *κ* is a standard abbreviation of *κ(α)* (K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* 45). Alternatively, the superscript could be taken as a letter, conceivably *κ<sup>σ</sup>* for *κάτω*: this might indicate that the omitted verse 126 had been added in the lower margin (examples in McNamee 48 f.). However, the surviving portion of this margin (narrow, but deep and more or less central) shows no trace of writing.

126 The papyrus omits this verse. In the MSS, the beginning of 126 wavers between *έσεται* *ἀνθρώποισι* and *έσσει<sup>τ</sup>* *ἐν ἀνθρώποισι*: it supplies a verb for the subjects in 125 (which might however be syntactically complete by itself, with ellipse of the verb). Its latter half in most medieval MSS is *κακόν* (perhaps doubtful as paradoxical?) or *κακό* or *κακόν δ' επικείσεται ἄλλος*. Some recent MSS offer *κακόν* (or *κακό*?) *δ' οὐκ έσεται ἄλλος* (based on Hes. *Op.* 201, with *κακό*), a reading known already in late antiquity, as the double version in the *Aratus latinus* shows. The verse is not translated by either Germanicus (cf. G. Maurach, *Germanicus und sein Arat* (Heidelberg 1978) 150) or Avienus (which does not necessarily imply that they did not read it), but it is known to the scholia (with the first reading in its latter half). Maass printed *κακόν δ' επικείσεται ἄλλος*; Martin (after Voss) *κακόν δ' επικείσεται ἄλλος*. It is unlikely that this troublesome verse has been omitted in our papyrus by mere accident (though it does present a homoioteleuton with 127: *ΑΙΓΟΣ-ΑΛΛΑΟΥΣ*). We might compare certain Homeric verses that supply verbs to verbless subjects in the preceding line: these were sometimes deleted by Alexandrian scholars, see especially Il. 9.416, and scholia ad loc. (with Erbse's note), and scholia ad Il. 7.353a. However, I find it difficult to believe that somebody went so far as to delete a verse from Aratus' text on such grounds (rather than simply signalling the problem in a commentary or in a marginal note). On the other hand, the uncertainty about the reading of the last three words, where the choice is between a very flat general sentence and an almost verbatim quotation from Hesiod, might suggest that the whole verse has been patched together to provide the missing verb and a smoother conclusion to Dike's speech: an interpolation (although, according to current editions, there is no other case of an interpolated verse in the whole MSS tradition of Aratus).

130 *ολο* [ω]τερ[ο]ι corrected to *ολωτατοι* papyrus: *δλωότεροι* codd. fere omnes: *δλωατατοι* (δλωατατοι

voluit?) C [+S?]. The variant may be due to somebody who felt, rather pedantically, that, the Race of Bronze being preceded by more than one generation, a superlative was needed.

131 margin *ερεκ* [, the trace is a dot high in the line. Some form of *τίκτω* rather than of *τεκταίνω* (unsuitable as a paraphrase of *ἐγαλκεύαντο*)?

134 ] *δ αρ ε[νaccato: ἄρ' ἐνάccato SΦ: ἄρα νάccato M*. In the papyrus, *ε[* seems clear, although oblique ink at the bottom left might suggest that it was altered to or from *α*. The augmented verb would violate Hermann's bridge (cf. however 903, with elision, as here).

137 *εεσε[ ειλέccται* codd. *ferre omnes*. A mere slip; write *ει(λι)ccε[ται* (XLVII 3321 offers a similar mistake in E. *Phoe.* 3: see Haslam ad loc.).

G. B. D'ALESSIO

4424. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 324–36

48 5B.30/E(1–2)a

1.8 × 5 cm

Second/third century

A scrap of papyrus from the middle of a column, written along the fibres, back blank. The column width can be estimated at 8–9.5 cm.

The text is written in a small script of the Formal Mixed type, sloping gently to the right. *ε* is straight-backed, the tail of *ν* is not sinuous. *ε* and *ς* are narrow, but the contrast in width with *α*, *κ* and *λ* is not as striking as that with *η* and *ν*. Cf. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 34 (Sophocles, *Iokneutae*, assigned to the later ii AD), 84 (Plato, *Phaedrus*, datable to the mid-iii AD). The high stop and elision mark in 328 may have been inserted by a second hand.

Collated with the edition of J. Martin (1956), with additional information from the edition of E. Maass<sup>¶</sup>ed. 2, 1955).

· · · · ·  
*υψου πε]πτηω[τα*  
 325 *ουρα]νον εια[νιδων*  
*τοιος] οι και φ[ρουρος*  
*φαι]γεται αμ[φοτεροις*  
*πικι]λος' αλλ' ο[ν παντα*  
*γαστε]ρα κυαν[εος*  
 330 *αστερ]ι βεβληη[αι*  
*οξεα] χειριαει κ[αι*  
*Χειριο]ν ουκετ[ι κειων*  
*] . . ι ψευδ[ονται*  
*ρεια] γαρ ουν εκρ[ινε*  
 335 *και τα μ]εν ερρ[ωσεν*  
*κειου]ν και κατ[ιοντος*  
 · · · · ·

325 The papyrus does not support the suggestion of a lacuna after this line (Buttmann).

327 A heavy circular blot of ink above ]*ε* may conceal a suprascript. But the other surviving letters exclude Buttmann's conjecture *φάινετ' ὀπισθοτέροις*.

328 *ἀλλ' οὐ* MF (sed non L) sch: *οὐ μὲν* Vaticanus 1910 eiusque affines.

332 *Χειριο]*: perhaps remains of a high stop to the right of *ν*.

333 *φυσταλαι* MSS. The traces would suit *φυστα]λα*, the first iota inserted above the line.

M. RICHTER-P. J. PARSONS

4425. ARATUS, *Phaenomena* 516–25

49 5B.98

2.9 × 6.7 cm

Late first–early second century

A small fragment, broken on all sides, from a roll (the back is blank). The text is written along the fibres. The hand is the same as that of XXII 2321 (pl. VIII) (Anacreon) and XXXIV 2693 (pl. I) (Apollonius Rhodius), although in 4425 the letters are slightly larger and squarer, and the interlinear space wider; the same copyist wrote 4429 below (Lycophron). Mr Lobel noted the identity (2321 introd.); I suggest that POxyHels 2 (pl. 2) (Homer) should be added to the list, and possibly also XVII 2085 (Commentary on Euphorion) and PRyl III 551 (pl. 4) (Lycurgus), both recognised as similar by Lobel. This is scribe no. 17 in the list of J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 194, and the revised list by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll: Formats and Conventions* (Diss. Yale, 1992) 150.

Lobel (2321 introduction) suggested a date not later than the beginning of the second century, and indeed some features (pointed *α*, *θ* often with high cross-bar, *κ* with high junction of the obliques, heart-shaped *ο*, curving right side in *π*, flattened upper curve in *ς*) could be paralleled from manuscripts dated securely to the late first century, cf. Roberts, *GLH* 11*b* (dated to AD 94), or to the early second, cf. PMert III 101 (pl. I) of AD 109, Schubart, *PGB* 22a (for the date see E. Boswinkel in *PLBat* XXIII pp. 3–6), especially POxyHels 18 (pl. 12) of c. AD 124.

The lectional signs in line 520 are apparently due to the main hand; the deletion and correction in 522 may be by a second hand. There are suprascript notes in 522 (of unknown nature) and 523 (gloss, correction or variant?). The latter has been added, not necessarily by a second hand, in slightly more cursive script; so far as one can judge from the little surviving, this script seems different from the hands of the notes entered in 2693 and at 2321 fr. 14 (if this fragment is rightly assigned to the same MS as the others) and fr. 3 i.

The text has been formally collated with the edition of J. Martin (1956), but all previous editions since Buhle's (1793) have been used. However, information on the readings has largely been checked, revised and augmented by my own collations of 32 of the MSS; in the apparatus their readings are cited individually in place of Martin's





the line-beginnings are correctly reconstructed, the scribe did not use *ekthesis* to set off the lemmata.

Of the papyri of Aratus so far recovered (see above, p. 101–2), three bear marginal annotation: XV 1807 + PKöln IV 185 (roll, ii AD); PBerol 5865 (codex, iii–iv AD); PLitLond 34 + MPEr III 17 (codex, iv AD). The annotation is desultory, and consists largely of gloss and paraphrase; PBerol 5865 has also some astronomical and mythological explication (see M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980) 19–32). 4426 is the first example of a systematic *hypomnema*. There are some verbal agreements with the medieval scholia (see 2–3, 16–19). But the Oxyrhynchus commentator, like the others, concentrates on elementary verbal explanation which is hardly more than paraphrase; he gives no sign of drawing on the tradition of astronomical scholarship that is so richly represented in the later scholia.

For the text of Aratus we have referred to J. Martin's edition (1956), for the ancient commentaries to his *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Teubner, 1974).

]ρδετ[.]επ[.]...μ.[  
 ]δετουτοπ[.]δινεο[  
 ]μιγμενο[.]ερχοντα[  
 ] [.] [.] [.]  
 5 ]αλιωρ[.]ιν κα[.]  
 ] [.]κατατασα[.]ζωρα[.]  
 ]καπανταμ[.]αυτως [  
 ]ευεναρηρ[.]ροξης [  
 ]αρτατησνυ[.]τοσα [  
 10 ]ματαωσαυτωσλιανεν [  
 ]υρανωιαρηναγαλμα[  
 ]κτοσιαστερεσσιδε[  
 ]οιπενταστερες [  
 ]παντοθεν [  
 15 ]δεκαδ[ε]ι [  
 ]ωναπ[.]ανω[  
 ]γ.ε.αι [  
 ]ανωμενων [  
 ] [.]λα [

]ρδετ[.]επ[.]...μ.[  
 ]δετουτοπ[.]δινεο[  
 με]μιγμενο[.]ερχοντα[  
 ] [.] [.] [.]  
 5 ἐξείησ π]αλίνωρ[α πά]λιν κα[.] (452)  
 ...]. [.] κατὰ τὰς ἀ[ύ]τὰς ὥρα[ς]  
 τὰ γὰρ] καὶ πάντα μ[ά]λ' αὖτως [ (452–3)  
 οὐρανῶν] εὖ ἐνάρηρ[εν τ]ὸ ἐξήησ·  
 πάντα γ]ὰρ τὰ τῆς νυ[κ]τὸς ἀ–  
 10 γά]ματα ὡσαύτως λίαν ἐν  
 τῶι ο]ὐρανῶι ἄρηρεν. ἀγάμμα–  
 τα τῆς νυ]κτὸς οἱ ἀστέρες. οἱ δ' ἐ– (454–5)  
 πιμίξ' ἄλλ]οι πέντε ἀστέρες  
 οὐδὲν ὁμοί]οι πάντοθεν  
 15 εἰδῶ]λων δυοκα]δέκα δ[ε]ι–  
 νεύονται ...]ων ἀπ[λ]ανῶν  
 ]γ.ε.αι [  
 ]ανωμενων [  
 ] [.]λα [

1 4 ]δνεσο[ and ]μγμενο[ seem to refer to verses 454–5, where the scholia explain ἐπιμῖξ δνεόνται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναμειγμένοι ... ἦτοι ἀναμειγμένοι ἢ ἀνάμικτοι τοῖς ἀπλανέων ἄστροις ... But the lemma for these verses follows in 12–16. Perhaps the compiler has put together notes in a jumbled order; perhaps this was a general comment (of the kind which recurs at 16 ff.), making the basic distinction between the fixed stars and the planets.

1 ] , long descender (ρ, υ?).

2 ]δε τοῦτο, τοῦ τσπ[ου?

2–3 In τσπ[, π represented by traces of an upright and a high horizontal; γ could be considered. Apparently ]δ, not ]αι. ]μγμενο[ or possibly ]μγμενω[. ]ερ rather than ]αρ. δνεσο[ ][[ται (ανα)μειγμενοι[ would paraphrase the text, but the space is too narrow for [ταιναμει] and too wide for [ταιμει]. Perhaps consider δνεσο[ ]μνοι μει[μγμενω[ε, then αι]ερχοντα[ε or the like?

4 What remains of the line is blank. There would be room for up to c. 7 letters at the beginning.

5–6 ἐξείρε πάλινωρα[ since the line before is blank, the beginning of 5 must have contained lemma, not a continuation of an earlier note. The unique word πάλινωρα is explained, cf. sch. 451: ἐφέφηε κείμενα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύνοντα. sch. 454 τὸ δὲ πάλινωρα, πάλιν τὰς ὥρας ἄγοντα ἢ πάλιν κατὰ τὰς ὥρας ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύνοντα. In the papyrus, space suits [πά]λιν but not [κατὰ τάξ]ιν; at the end, καί[ rather than κατ[. We do not see how to fit in a suitable participle

8 ] εἰ ἐνάρηρ[εν: so MΦ: ἀεν ἄρηρην Eust. Od. p. 627, Athen. 489E (ἄρηρον).

14 πάνθην: so M I sch. Φ (undique L): ἔμπαλιν Achilles bis, cf. Germ. 438–9, Avien. 913.

16–19 Cf. sch. 454: προσιπὼν περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν μεταβαίνει νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν τὴν πλανήτων λόγον. In the papyrus, it is tempting to restore περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν | [προσιπὼν] μεταβα[ίνει ἐπὶ τὸν τὴν πλ]ανωμένων | [λόγον .... The difficulty lies in μεταβ[; μ is satisfactory (better than η); τ suits one apparent trace (left end of horizontal), but not the sloping ink above it; β would be possible (minuscule traces); but unless the joining fragments are misplaced, there is hardly room for α. Just possibly μετ<sup>α</sup>βαι, the alpha added above the tau.

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<sup>14</sup> 4427. CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia* III fr. 75.11–15

A 8B. 6/6

5.5 × 6.5 cm

First/second century

A scrap of papyrus with writing across the fibres; on the back, a few line-ends in cursive script, written along the fibres. The papyrus preserves the top of a column, with 3.5 cm of upper margin; the upper part of the margin is occupied by six lines of scholia. The original column-width can be estimated at about 10–13 cm.

The main hand belongs to the plain, awkward type of Roberts, *GLH* 10c (a document of AD 66) and 14 (Pindar, *Paeans*, first hand; first half of second century?). The same hand apparently supplied the reading marks: acute, grave and circumflex accents, rough breathing. In what little remains, every word carries one or more such marks; clearly this difficult text had been carefully prepared for reading, possibly in school (cf. R. Criboire, *Writers, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 85). Elision is apparently not marked in 14. The scholia are written by a thinner pen in a small informal script which combines cursive letter-forms (ε, τ) with more literary ones, notably Α in the capital shape. There are occasional ligatures, but generally the letters are separated one from another; for such scholiastic scripts, compare the first hand of XXXI 2536, *Hypomnema on Pindar* (Turner, *GMAW* no. 61). The annotator wrote iota adscript in the only place that required it (schol. 6). He does not use abbreviations.

The text was already known from VII 1011. 4427 adds nothing, except to confirm that Ἄδeww was correctly restored in 15. The scholia refer to proper names further down the column: Lygdamis and the river Parthenios, mentioned in fr. 75. 25–7.

. . . . .  
]. [ ] [ ]  
|θη υπο τη. |  
]. περι τον λυγδαμω  
]ζων [

5 παρθενο]ς ποταμος της παφλα]γονιας  
ποτ]αμαι παρθενος ποτα]μος

] οι βόες οξείαν δερ[κομενοι  
] δειελίνην τήν δ [ειλε  
αι]γας ἐς αγριάδα[ε  
ψ]εῦδομενοι δ ι'ε[ρην  
την κουρη]ν ἀιδε[ω

fr. 75 11

15

*Scholia.*

Assuming that the supplement παρθενο]ς in line 5 is correct, it seems very likely that the lines of the scholia began in almost exactly the same alignment as the lines of the text. But there is no way of telling in principle how far they extended to the right.

2–4 relate to fr. 75.23, *Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ τήμος ἔκρηε κάσις*. The story appears more fully in *Hymn* 3.25 ff.: Lygdamis led an army of Cimmerians against Ephesos, and (it is implied) Artemis destroyed them. According to Hesychius s.v., Lygdamis burnt the temple of Artemis. Assuming that the lines of scholia were the same width as those of the text, there would be room in lines 1–4 to tell the elements of this tale, to explain why Artemis might have been vexing Lygdamis.

2 ]θη before ὑπό seems likely to be the ending of a third person singular aorist passive. One would then expect a genitive after ὑπό, but the traces after τη do not seem reconcilable with ε.

3 ] , an upright: right-hand part of μ, ν, π or ι possible. περι τὸν Λύγδαμω probably describes the Cimmerian host of which he was the leader.

4 ]ζων, of ε only the tips. The note on Lygdamis seems to have ended here; the rest of the line is blank. 5–6 relate to fr. 75.25 ἔκλυζεν ποταμῶ λύματα Παρθενίω. Pfeiffer's note there collects the ancient testimonia about this River Parthenios. Most of them contain a geographical note; all of them give some kind of an explanation for the name, most often that the virgin Artemis used to bathe in the river (this suits the context of fr. 75.22–7 very well). Here we have geography in 5; we might therefore look for an account of the name in 6.

5 παρθενο]ς. This supplement is tempting because we expect a new note to begin with a lemma; it has the advantage that, if it is right, the line-beginning ranged almost exactly with the line-beginnings of the text below.

Παφλα]γονίας: so Schol. Ap. Rh. 2.936 ff.

6 ποτ]αμάι, of α only an oblique stroke descending from left to right, λ also possible.

If line 5 extended to the full average width of the column (estimated at c. 12 cm), there would be room

for c. 30 letters after Παφλα[γονίας; if line 6 ranged with line 5, there is room for three to five letters before ποσι[αμῶν. A comment on the name could easily be fitted in, for example Παρθένος[ ποταμὸς τῆς Παφλα[γονίας ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἐλόιετο, ὄθει] (6) [ταῖς ποσι[αμῶν Παρθένος ποταμὸς ὄνομα ἐγένετο.

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**4428–4429.** LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra*

Two further papyri of this work have been identified among the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society, and are published here. Lycophron is a relative rarity in Egypt:

<b>4429</b>	588–91, 595–603	i AD	Oxy
PMünchen II 39	1108–28, 1156–63	i/ii AD	Fay
XVII <b>2094</b> + XLIX <b>3445</b>	586–92, 747–56, 764–9, 850–3, 924–39, 1345–79	ii AD	Oxy
XLIX <b>3446</b>	1239–50	ii AD	Oxy
<b>4428</b>	151–66, 182–97	iii AD	Oxy
PSI VI 724	comm. on 743–7?	iii? AD	?

XXVII **2463** too has been referred to Lycophron, but Callimachus seems a more likely claimant (Livrea, *CQ* 39 (1989) 141 = Livrea, *Studia Hellenistica* I (1991) 197).

In collating the texts, we have used the editions of Scheer (1881) and Mascialino (1964); for the scholia the edition of Scheer (1908). For a general account of the medieval tradition, see H. Erbse in H. Hunger etc., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* I (1961) 251 f. For an appraisal of the textual significance of the papyri of Lycophron (PMünchen II 39 and XVII **2094** only) see U. Criscuolo, *Dioniso* 44 (1970) 72 ff.

**4428.** LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 151–66, 182–97

15 2B.52/G(f) 11.4 × 10.4 cm Early third century

Parts of two consecutive columns, the first preserving its top and an upper margin of 1 cm, with an intercolumnium of 3.8 cm. Column height may be estimated at around 19 cm. There were 30 verses to a column; the whole of the work (1474 verses) must have run to some 50 columns, filling a roll at least 6 metres long. Written along the fibres; the back is blank.

The hand is a fine specimen of the 'Severe Style', large and upright. It is very similar to, but not I think the same as, the hand of XVII **2098** (=Roberts, *GLH* 19b),

which is assigned with a good degree of probability to the earlier part of the third century. In the margin opposite col. i there are several glosses written in a near-cursive script. The same hand, which may well be contemporary with that of the text, has scribbled something in the spaces between the first letters of vv. 182–3 and 184–5.

There are occasional accents (acute 152, 185, 189; circumflex 166), a quantity mark (*longum* 152), and punctuation at the end of two verses in the form of short oblique strokes (155, 165). Most of the lectional signs have been added by another hand (paler ink). Elision is effected, but not signalled, in all possible cases. The iotas adscript are always written where required. A supralinear addition in 186, making good an omission, seems to be by the original scribe.

The papyrus backs a modern conjecture in 158, and in 154 confirms the antiquity of a good variant, attested only by the *EM* and one of the prose paraphrases.

A preliminary transcript was made by A. Kolb and C. Selzer.

col. i		col. ii
Top		
	] γοναίς	[ ]
	Ἐννα]ιά ποτε	οπ[ο]ι[α] κούρο[ς
	Ξιφηφό]ρος ἡ δῆμη	οι δ αὐ προγεν]νητειραν
	] φάρωι	βύκται[ς]ι [χ]ερ]νιφαντες
155	εν]δατουμένη '	185 του Κυρίου δρ]ακοντος
	βαρ]ν ποθαγ	ην° ξυνενν]οσ
	αρπα]κτηριον το.]	εντος ματ]ευων
	αρπα]υε γυαε	δαρον φαληρ]ιωσαν
	Μολπ]ιδος πετραν	Κέλτου προ]ς εκ]βολαισι
160	Ομβ]ριωι δεμαε	190 ποθων δαμαρ]τα
	πειθεροφθ]οροις τον οωο	λαιμων προθ]εισα
	] μυρτι	βαθυσ δ εσω ρη]γμωος
	κυφο]ν . . . . .	ερημοε ε]ν
	] . . . . .	στενοντο[ς
165	γεν]ει '	195 και την αφαντ]ον
	ημοετροφ]ων	Γραιαν εφαγεω]ν
	. . . . .	]π[αφλαζοντος

<sup>154</sup> φάρωι: so *EM* p: τάψω MSS. Shadowy traces to the right, perhaps in the same ink as the lectional signs. The lower part looks most like α, with three parallel bars crossing it, further ink above: I cannot

reconcile the remains with any writing of τάφωι. Perhaps here, and again to the right of 159 and 163, we are dealing with offsets.

157 mrg. τo [. After omicron a high dot on the edge. Presumably τοῦ [Ποσειδῶνος (probably abbreviated), glossing Ναιμέδοντος, as in the scholia.

158 γνάα: so Reichlin: γνάα MSS.

159 Again, shadowy ink higher up to the right of the line-end.

161 mrg. τὸν Οινό(μαον).

162 mrg. Μυρτί(λλος), explaining ὁ Καδμῆλλον γόνος.

163 mrg. There are very dim traces of perhaps five letters to the right. Their position would suggest a gloss, but I cannot make anything of it. See 154n.

182-3 In the interlinear space to the left of the line-beginnings, and just overlapping the first letter of 183, traces which look like the work of the annotating hand. See on 184-5.

184 [χ]ε[ρ]ν[ι]ψ[α]ν[τ]ε[ς]: so AB sch. p: χερνίψουσι CDET.

184-5 There is ink above the initial τ of 185, which might be read ]ρα or ]ρα., and more to the left of it. The hand looks the same as that of the other marginalia. We might therefore take this as a note on 185, or as a projecting note on the corresponding lines in col. i (155-6). But I have not thought of a convincing restoration.

185 The lacuna after this verse postulated by Scheer (in *RhM* 34 (1879) 285, but not mentioned in his edition), who was followed by Hurst in his recent edition, remains unsubstantiated.

189 Κέλτου: so d: Κέλτρον AVBCDE: Κέλτοῦ Holzinger: Τετροῦ C. G. Müller (Scheer claims the emendation as his, and defended it in *RhM* 34 (1879) 471, but was anticipated by Müller, who, although somewhat reluctantly, suggested the reading in the first volume of his edition of Tzetzes' scholia on Lycophron (Leipzig, 1811), p. 34).

192 δ om. A.

196 σφαγγειω[ν]: so AE: σφαγγίων A<sup>1</sup>BCD.

N. GONIS

#### 4429. LYCOPHRON, *Alexandra* 588-91, 595-603

123/66

Fr. 2 8.5 × 9.2 cm

Late first/early second century

Two adjacent fragments (three tiny scraps remain unplaced), which probably combine to give the foot of a single column (see 592-4 note). The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank. The lower margin survives to c. 3 cm; the column width can be estimated as c. 8.5 cm. Mr Lobel identified the hand as that of the Anacreon XXII 2321 and other manuscripts; see 4425 introduction. This difficult text was quite liberally marked up: accents, quantity marks (600, 602), middle stop (591); the dirty and damaged surface may conceal other lectional signs. Iota adscript was inserted in 600; iotacisms were corrected by adding epsilon (600 κλιττει) or deleting it (599, dotted; 602, crossed out). Some of the lectional signs seem to be in a paler ink, and a more cursive hand wrote the textual alteration at the end of 600.

In 591 the papyrus seems to offer a reading known only from the indirect tradition; new variants in 598 (where the transmitted reading is unmetrical) and in 600.

		θε]αc
		οχ]λον
(fr. 1)		].
590		] . ου·
		]
		]
(fr. 2)		]
595	μοιρ]αγ οι θαλασσειαν	
	πο]ρκεων δικην	
	ινδαλθεν]τες ευγληνοιc δομ]ην	
	] φο . . [ . . ] αγρωσσοντες ελλοσπων θορο]υc	
	φερ]ωνυ[μο]ν νηc[ε]ιδα νασσονται προ]θ]μου[	
		ου-?-
600	θε]ατρομόρφωι προς κλιττει γεωλοφ]ου]	
	αγ]υιοπλαστησαντε]c εμπεδ]οιc τομαιc[	
	πυκ]γιαc καλ]ε]ταc ζηθ]ον εκμ]ιμουμει]οι	
	ομ]ου δ ε]c] άγραν καπι κ]οιταιαν] γαπην	

590 ], indistinct trace, perhaps accidental.

591 ] . ου: *τραποθ* MSS: *δχλου* (from 589) Et.M.: *ετλου* Steph. Byz. RV. The trace in the papyrus (a short stroke at line-level, sloping up to join the omicron suits λ but not, it seems, τ.

592-4 Blank papyrus, which we have taken as the right-hand margin of three shorter verses. Alternatively, the blank might represent a lower margin. In that case the next column had only 12 lines (592-603), with a written height of c. 7.5 cm and a roll-height of c. 13 cm: not an impossible format (compare Turner, *GMW* no. 21, IV 639, and no. 99, the BM Herodas), but relatively rare.

598 ] φο . . [: low trace, rising to the right, as in α, δ, λ, μ; after ο, perhaps remains of upright curving leftwards at the foot, space only for narrow letter; then arc open to the right, and a stroke slightly sloping forwards from the top left, as in c or ο. Above ο and the following letter, two heavy dots of ink. The MSS have *ράμφεσι* (*ράφαισι* B) *δ' άγρωσσοντες*, where editors accept the correction *ράμφεσι* (Ald.). In the papyrus, *ρα]μφοιc[ι* δ would suit trace and space, but *ράμφοc* masc. seems not to be attested; it is not clear whether the ink above οi is the remains of a correction.

599 [ε] dotted above, [θ] struck through.

600 ]ατ, unexplained horizontal trace above τ.

[οι] struck through, ωι written above, and above the iota -μ- or -ν-: γεωλόφωι MSS. The third reading of the papyrus was presumably γεωλόφωι, restoring the word to its more common usage as a noun.

601 ]οιc, traces of ink above ι and c, and more above αι at the end: variant reading?

602 [ε] struck through.

603 καπι: unexplained ink after the alpha; perhaps καπι was intended (aphaeresis in place of crasis, cf. V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968) 24-5).

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## 4430-2. THEOCRITUS AND 'MOSCHUS'

Fragments of two more papyri of Theocritus, and a fragment of scholia, have been identified among the unpublished holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society since the publication of the Theocritean pieces in volume L 3545-52.

As a basis for collation we have used the larger edition of Gow (ed. 2, 1952), with consultation of the third edition of Gallavotti (Rome, 1993); for *Megara* (4431) the OCT of Gow (1952). The chief papyri of Theocritus are referred to by Gow's sigla:

℘<sup>1</sup> 2064 (A. S. Hunt, J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (1930)) + L 3548

℘<sup>2</sup> XIII 1618

℘<sup>3</sup> PAntinoe (Hunt & Johnson, *ibid.*) + PAnt III 207

℘<sup>4</sup> Perg. Louvre 6778 + Perg. Rainer.

4430. THEOCRITUS, *Idylls* vii 84-7, 127-30 and iii 8-14, 34-7, 39-44

88/213

fr. 3 3.1 × 5 cm

Second century

Seven fragments from a roll (writing along the fibres and backs blank) containing *Idylls* of Theocritus. One scrap remains unplaced. No margins survive except for 0.7 cm of left-hand margin in fr. 6, which also shows evidence for Maas' law.

The text is written in an informal rounded hand. Serifs and hooks on the extremities of most letters help to maintain a generally bilinear impression. α is triangular with initial wedge, ε has the crossbar generally high. I would compare it to the London *Hyperides* (Roberts, *GLH* 13a) and XV 1810, and assign it to the second century, earlier rather than later. The text carries accents (acutes at vii 128, iii 11; graves at vii 128 (cancelled), iii 14; circumflex at iii 10), a rough breathing (vii 128), a diaeresis (vii 129), elision marks and punctuation (high points at iii 12, 44), all apparently added by the same hand. It is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written. The text has been corrected at vii 128 (see note), but it is difficult to be sure whether this is the work of a second hand.

The occurrence of fragments of *Idyll* iii along with vii indicates that iii must have followed immediately after vii in the roll, as in ℘<sup>1</sup> and PBerol 21182, cf. 3548 introd. On the order of the *Idylls* in the manuscripts of Theocritus see Gow I lxvi-ix, and K. Gutzwiller, 'The evidence for Theocritean poetry books' in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Wakker (eds), *Theocritus (Hellenistica Groningana II)* (1995) 119-48.

The papyrus overlaps part of ℘<sup>1</sup>. (Some verses are also present in PBerol 21182, but there is no coincidence.) There are three novelties: an unattested word order at iii 11, difficult to evaluate; a new but almost certainly corrupt reading at iii 12; and another new and possibly right reading at iii 42.

fr. 1	vii 84-7
	. . . . .
	]κα[τεκλασθησ
85	κηρ]ια φε[ρβομενος
	]επ ε[μεν
	το]ι εγ[ω
	. . . . .
fr. 2	vii 127-30
	. . . . .
	κ]αλα ρ[οσφω
	λ]αγώβολ[ον
130	ξε]ιμητιον [
	αρι]στερα [
	. . . . .
fr. 3+4	iii 8-14
	. . . . .
	καταφαινο]μαι εγγυθεν [
	απαγ]ξασθαι με π[οησαι
10	τ]ηνώθε καθ[ειλον
	]και άλλα τοι αυρ[ιον
	θυμαλγ]εσ[ αχο]ς' ειθε γεν[οιμαν
	μελις]α κα[ι
	]τὰρ[
	. . . . .
fr. 5	iii 34-7
	. . . . .
	τ]ο[ι
35	]κα[ι
	]κα[ι
	αλλετ]αι [
	. . . . .

fr. 6 iii 39-44

κα]ι [ .  
 ] ιππομεν[ης  
 ] μαλ' εν χερσι[ν  
 ] ως ειδ' ως εμ[ανη  
 ] αγελαν χ[ω  
 Π]υλον' α δε[ι

vii 128 λ]αγώβολ[ω]. The scribe initially placed a grave accent above omega, and an acute over omicron. At a later stage the grave was cancelled (or overwritten by an acute), perhaps by a second hand, and an acute was added a little further to the right, while the acute over omicron was cancelled by heavy dots above and below. If so, the original λαγώβωλον was changed to λαγώβωλον.

Editors print λαγώβωλον, in accordance with the normal rule about compounds in -βωλος with active meaning (W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* § 464). But the second hand here made it proparoxytone, and so it is in 3548. The same accent is transmitted in Eustathius' quotation of Th. iv 49 at *Il.* 4.847.4 Van der Valk; but he wrote -βωλον at *Od.* 3.253.19.

iii 10 αλλά τοι αυρι[ω]: αυριον άλλα τοι MSS. The papyrus' word-order is not unmetrical (τοι is postpositive, so that Hermann's law is not violated). In αλλά, the second acute derives from the enclitic following, in accordance with ancient doctrine (Chandler, op. cit. § 966).

12 ειθε: αθε MSS. The papyrus presents a banalisation, which is evidenced elsewhere in Theocritus' manuscripts, cf. iv 20 and 49 (αθε W: εθε rell.) and xv 70, where Ψ<sup>3</sup> offers αθε, but this 'has been altered probably from εθε'. On the issue see T. Molinos Tejada, *Los dorismos del Corpus Bucolicorum* (1990) 353.

42 ω: More ink to left of upper left-hand part of omega than expected.

ειδ': ιδεν MSS. 3548 seems to offer ιδ, cf. the editor's note ad loc.; as far as I can see ειδ' would be rather long for the space there. ειδ' is not impossible in itself. Admittedly Theocritus writes χως ιδον ως εμάνην at ii 82. But Homer, who provided the pattern for Theocritus' phrase, has both ως ιδεν at *Il.* 14.294 and ως ειδ' at 19.16. It is certainly interesting that two second century manuscripts agree in this against the medieval tradition. I believe that there is a good chance that 3548 represents the intermediate stage of the corruption, that is ειδ' > ιδ' > ιδεν; ιδ is easier to trace back to ειδ through iotacism rather than to ιδεν. (We find similar variations in the medieval tradition at xv 25 with ιδεν perique: ειδεν KTr; and xxiii 37 with ιδεν edd.: ειδην MSS.) The papyrus' reading need not have disappeared entirely in the Middle Ages: Σ iii 42c has ως ειδεν as lemma, and that may imply that some manuscript source had ειδεν.

The apostrophe after ειδ apparently is written over paler ink which I cannot explain. It looks like a rough breathing of a shape commonly known as Turner's form 1; one might associate it with the ensuing ως, but it is too far to the left: misunderstanding of the exemplar by the scribe, who later placed (correctly) the elision mark?

44 Same punctuation in 3548.

## Unplaced fragment

Fr. 7

. . .

] . α . [

] . ατ . [

] . . [

. . .

Fr. 7

1 ] . , lower part of right-hand oblique of α, λ . [ , high trace on edge 2 ] . , high minute right-hand arc (?) on edge (rough breathing above α?) . [ , lower part of upright 3 ] . [ , acute accent; top of triangular letter

N. GONIS

4431. [THEOCRITUS], *Idyll xxv 87-92, 128-31, 141-8, 155-8, 172-5, 197-8*  
 [MOSCHUS], *Megara 98-115*

87/304(a)

fr. 5 2.1 × 5.1 cm

Second century

Fourteen fragments from a roll containing two poems of dubious authorship from the *Corpus Bucolicorum*: *Idyll xxv* (fr. 1-8), doubtfully attributed to Theocritus, and *Megara* (fr. 9-12), ascribed by the manuscripts to Moschus; two more fragments bear so little text that it is not possible to place them with any confidence. Fr. 6 preserves a left-hand margin to 2 cm. The writing is along the fibres; the back carries what seems to be a commentary, written in a tiny semi-cursive hand.

Verses 92 and 198 of *Idyll xxv* are column ends. The 106 verses intervening between them could have been contained in (i) 4 columns of 26-7 verses or (ii) 3 of 35-6. Letter-height and interlinear space vary, but on the basis that in fr. 5 7 verses measure 5 cm in height, column-height could be restored as (i) c. 18.9 or (ii) c. 25.2 cm. Allowing 5 cm more for the upper and lower margins together, roll-height would measure at least (i) 23.9 or (ii) 30.2 cm. There is no secure way of choosing between (i) and (ii); literary rolls most often range from 25 to 32 cm in height, cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47.

The text is written in a tall mannered upright hand, to be assigned to the second half of the second century. Serifs, half-serifs and hooks are attached to the extremities of most uprights and obliques. It may be compared to, e.g., LVII 3901 (Thucydides). For this type of hand see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 78 introd. It is noticeable that the writing becomes less cramped as the scribe progresses further to the right: compare fr. 5 and 6, which preserve line-beginnings, with fr. 1, which comes from the middle of the column; likewise, contrast the relatively strict bilinearity (except for φ and ψ) of fr. 5 and 6 with the more relaxed attitude in fr. 1. No lectional marks are in evidence except for the diaeresis at *Meg.* 101, 109, 110. Iota adscript is written at xxv 91, the sole case where it is required (I have restored it by analogy at xxv 90, 143, 148).

This is the first papyrus of *Idyll xxv* to be published. The absence of ancient manuscript evidence for this *Idyll* was noted by Gow (I p. lxi), who, however, admits that it is at least possible that xxv was contained in the lost part of the Antioque papyrus (II 439). But there has already been published a papyrus of *Megara*, XLVII 3325.

The fragments contribute nothing of particular textual importance: there is a gross corruption at [Th.] xxv 156, and a new but false variant at *Meg.* 100. But it is significant that fragments of [Th.] xxv and [M.] iv were found together; in the MSS the two poems

are juxtaposed ([Th.] xxv is followed by [M.] iv in CVWTr; D shows the inverse order), and it seems reasonable to assume that this is the case here also. Similar arrangements are attested by the papyri of Theocritus, cf. 4430 introd. 4431 thus provides further evidence that the medieval tradition, or at least its greatest part, reproduces the order of the constituents of the *Corpus Bucolicorum* in the second century AD.

fr. 1 + 2

xxv ]ανι[οντα  
 ]πειτ]α βο[ε  
 ερχομεν]αι φαι[νονθ ]  
 90 ]ν ουρανω[ι ειεν ελανομενα προτερ]ωσε  
 Νοτ]οιο βιηι η[ε ]  
 με]ν τ[ ]ουτις α[ριθμος ]  
 foot

90 The blank space of more than 4 cm below the letters surviving in fr. 2 suggests that we are dealing with a column foot and/or the end of an exceptionally long line. The identification satisfies both conditions. The horizontal fibres also match.

92 τ[ ]: τ' D: γ' Ff: om. WM. A break in the papyrus leaves it uncertain whether an elision mark was written.

fr. 3 + 4

130 ]αν η[δη  
 ]ου]καλεοντ[ο  
 ]αν η[ντε  
 ]μετεπρ]επον[

fr. 5

] βουσι[ν  
 ] οι δη[  
 ] αυτω[ι  
 ] χριμψ[ασθαι

145 ] του με[ν  
 ] καιου [ ]  
 ] κλασ[ε  
 ] ωμ[ωι  
 . . .

fr. 6

155 ] λαοφορ[ου  
 ] λειπον[ ]  
 ] η ρα δ[ι  
 ] ου]τι[ ]  
 . . .

156 λειπον: λεπτήν MSS. The papyrus' reading is corrupt; there seem to be two stages in the corruption: (i) graphic error: EΠΠ could easily be misread as EΠI in the majuscule; (ii) adaptation to the word-ending in τριβον, which follows.

fr. 7

175 ] ω[ε  
 ] ει [ ]  
 ] ελ[πομαι  
 ] η[ε  
 . . .

fr. 8

197 ]νοσ]φιν γ' η ο[θεν  
 ]Αρ]γειων ουδ[εις  
 foot

fr. 9 + 10 + 11 + 12

Megara

]χι]τωνος [ ]  
 ]τελ]ος εργου [ ]



100 πονευμεν]ος ε[ρκος ] αλωας [ ]  
 πρου]χον[τος.] ρεξε[α]c [ ]  
 ει]ματ[α ε]ςτο [ ]  
 β]αθειης [ ]  
 105 ειλ]ειτο φλοξ [ ]  
 ποc]ειν [ ]  
 Ηφαιcτ]οιο [ ]  
 γεpp]ον' [ ] [ ]  
 ] ενθα και ενθ]α [ ]  
 δη]ιον πυρ [ ]  
 110 ] εικτο [ ]  
 ολ]ιcθων [ ]  
 ] α[v]τ[ιc [ ]  
 αμενηνο]c [ ]  
 ατεpp]εc [ ]  
 115 εμπεδο]ν αυτ. [ ]  
 foot

100 αλωας: ἀλωής DS edd.: ἀλωήν WTr. The papyrus' reading is an example of the 'superficial Doricising of otherwise Ionic texts, to conform to beliefs about the genre' (R. L. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (1996) 35). To judge from Gallavotti's apparatus, similar Dorisms are transmitted by WTr in verses 1, 20, 35, 87.

101 ]ρεξε[α]c: ἑρείσας DS edd.: ἀρείσας WTr.

104 ειλ]ειτο: so DS edd.: ελλείτῃ WTr.

112 α[v]τ[ιc: so WTrD edd.: ἀθίc D'S.

115 αυτ. [: ἀττωc S edd.: ἀτροῦ WTrD. The trace, remains of an upper left-hand arc, does not allow judgement on which reading the papyrus had.

### Unplaced fragments

Fr. 13

. .  
 ]ενα[

. .

Fr. 14

1 .[, serified foot of upright or ascending oblique

Fr. 14

. .  
 ]ε. [

. .  
 ]. [

2 .[, top of α, λ

N. GONIS

### 4432. COMMENTARY ON THEOCRITUS IV 55 7, 62-3

34 4B.77/D(4-6)b  
 34 4B.78/D(4-7)b

Fr. 1 7 × 12.2 cm  
 Fr. 2 3 × 5 cm

Second century

On fr. 1 the full width of the column of about 5.5 cm with lines of between 23 and 27 letters is preserved, also the upper margin which was 3 cm or more high. On fr. 2 only the beginnings of the lines remain. The back of the roll was used for what appear to have been accounts, written the other way up from the text on the front. On fr. 1 there are ends of lines recording various amounts of drachmai with a note (subsequently crossed-out) under the end of the line. The right-hand half of this note appears to be preserved on fr. 2, followed by the first letters of another column which seems to have been longer than the preceding one. This and also what look like the corresponding halves of a worm-hole on the edges of the fragments suggest that, on the front, fr. 2.1 may have been on about the same level as fr. 1.4, with an intercolumnar gap of about 2 cm. Between fr. 1 and fr. 2 the comments on four verses of Theocritus, *Id.* iv 58-61, have been lost. Seeing that in fr. 1 the commentary on three verses takes up eighteen or more lines, six of them on one word, something in the region of twenty or more lines could have intervened.

There is a column number in the upper margin of fr. 1. It is fairly certainly ΠΜΔ = 144.<sup>1</sup> This seems surprisingly high considering that the commentary has got no further than what is usually the fourth poem in the manuscripts of Theocritus;<sup>2</sup> but it must be borne in mind that in the preserved fragments the commentator seems to be covering an average of only half a dozen verses per column and that he probably averaged less at the beginning of the work, where commentaries tend to be more detailed. Moreover, if he followed an order similar to that of the Antinoe codex (P<sup>3</sup>), taking the longer bucolic poems, *Idd.* i, v and vii first, then iii and possibly also vi before iv, he would have had 613 verses to comment on before reaching col. 144 and he may also have included introductory remarks both to the individual poems and to the commentary as a whole.

The text is written in a neat, fairly strictly bilinear, 'capital' hand. The letters are roughly 2-3 mm square and the interlinear space also measures 2-3 mm. Alpha is

<sup>1</sup> Column numbers in rolls are less frequent than page numbers in codices, but do occur: Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16 gives examples, and add LIII 3702 and 3711. Assuming that our roll started with col. 1, it must have been over 10 metres long. For comparison, LIII 3702 (with col. 122) must have been over 12 m long; the commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus*, BKT II (see now *CPF* III pp. 227 ff.), survives to a length of about 6 m with 75 columns and preserves commentary on about a sixth of the complete text. Among literary rolls from Oxyrhynchus, lengths up to c. 15 m are not exceptional (W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 209).

<sup>2</sup> It comes fourth in all three families of MSS, although the order differs. In 2064 (P<sup>1</sup>) it comes in third place after *Id.* i and vi, whereas in the Antinoe codex (P<sup>3</sup>) *Idd.* i, v and then probably vi or vii are followed by a gap which presumably contained, in uncertain order, iii, iv, vii or vi, viii, ix and xi. See Gow and Gutzwiller *l.c.c.* (above p. 158).

pointed; the left hand branch of epsilon tends to start with a little flourish above the line; the tongue of epsilon is often long and joins the next letter. The writing may be compared with the first hands of BGU XI 2020 (pl. 1; Registration of Children, AD 124), and V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*, mid-second century) and with Schubart, *Paläographie* pl. 36 (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, c. AD 150) and for some letters with XLVI 3279 (Application for Epicrisis, AD 148–9). In general appearance it is similar to POxyInv 33 4B.83E (Menander, *Sicyonius*; late first/early second century, *BICS* 31 (1984) 25 and Pl. 1).

Accents and breathings are written in the lemmata (col. i 1, 4, 5; col. ii 4 and a doubtful case in ii 11). Iota adscript is written in ii 8 and probably also in the lemma in i 5 (ξρηης), but the reading here is uncertain. There is a superfluous ν ἐφελευκτικόν in ετων in i 14 (see also note on ii 10 f.). Δέ is elided in i 13. There seems to be no punctuation and no means of dividing the lemmata from the comments (but see app. on i 6). A trace in the left-hand margin of i 9 may be a stroke indicating omission. The correction in i 5 appears to be in the hand of the text.

The text of Theocritus used in the commentary tends to agree with P and relatives more often than with the Ambrosian recension (K): in verse 55 it had δαμάζει like P, not δαμάσδει like the other MSS; in 56 probably δχ', the reading of PQW, or δκχ', and ἀνάλιπος in agreement with members of the Laurentian and Vatican families, which have ἀνήλιπος or ἀνάλιπος, against K which has νήλιπος, the form used by Apollonius Rhodius and Lycophron. It appears, however, to have had ξρηης (or ξρηης) in agreement with K against P which has ξρπεις. In 57 the text had a reading otherwise preserved only as a *varia lectio* in the scholia which seems as plausible as that of the MSS: κάκτοι instead of βάνοι,<sup>3</sup> but the genitive ending of the variant in col. i 12, βαττου, suggests that the verse, which is not quoted in the papyrus, may have had a different syntactical structure.

Of published Theocritus papyri, only one overlaps the text represented in **4432**: **2064** (P<sup>1</sup>) fr. 6 ii has the beginnings of *Id.* iv 56–63. Only one other fragment of commentary has been found: P.Berol. 7506, of the first or early second century, with notes on *Id.* v 38, 40, 44, 45 and 49 which do not show a direct relationship with the scholia. As it does not offer an explanation of the obscene verses 41–43, it may well have been written for school-children (see Wilamowitz in BKT V 56 and Gow, *Theocritus* I li). Six more papyri contain marginal notes (and more may have done so, as over half the papyri preserve little or none of the right-hand margin). L **3547** (2nd cent.), **3551** (3rd cent.), XV **1618** (P<sup>2</sup>, 5th cent.) and P.Berol. 21182 (*ZPE* 4 (1969) 114–16, from Hermupolis, 6th cent.) have only the odd note (the last two have one gloss each which

<sup>3</sup> P<sup>3</sup> also occasionally has readings otherwise known only as variants in the scholia: two errors corrected in the papyrus at *Id.* ii 60 and xv 1 and two good readings in ii 3 and 85.

both agree with the scholia, see P<sup>2</sup> on vii 110 and schol. 109/110d and P.Berol. on vii 134 with schol. 133/4b).<sup>4</sup> On P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>3</sup>, however, a fair amount of annotation is preserved.

For the early history of scholarly work on Theocritus see Gow, *Theocritus* I lix–lxii and lxxx–lxxxiv, and Carl Wendel, *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokritscholien* (Berlin 1920). The names of five or six men who wrote commentaries on him are known: Asclepiades of Myrlea and Theon (1st cent. BC), Amaranthus (date uncertain, perhaps 2nd cent.), Munatius and Theaetetus (assigned either both to the 2nd cent. or to the 4th and the 5th/6th cent.) and possibly Eratosthenes, the sixth century epigrammatist, who was emended away by Wendel. The notes in P<sup>1</sup>, which was written and annotated probably somewhat later in the second century than the new commentary, and also those in P<sup>3</sup> (from Antioch, 5th/6th cent.) contain several parallels to the scholia in the MSS, some of which do suggest a common source, but also a fair number of differences which show that the commentaries excerpted in the papyri were neither the only source(s) of the scholia nor incorporated into them in full. The differences between P<sup>3</sup> and the scholia are particularly remarkable, as this papyrus was written at a date by which one would have expected the basic stock of the scholia already to have been formed. See A. S. Hunt, J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 5 and 29. That the annotator of P<sup>1</sup> did use one of the commentaries from which the scholia were compiled is shown by the close agreement between the note about Daphnis at the foot of col. xix in L **3548** and the end of hypothesis b to *Id.* viii: *Κωκίθεος ἐν τῷ Αιτυρέργη (TrGF 99 F 1a)? ] Δαφνιν α. κ[... (c. 19 letters) ὑφ' οἱ]ν νικηθῆναι | [Μενάλκων ἄδοντα Πανός καὶ] Νυμφῶν κρ[ιάντων. γαμηθῆναι δὲ αὐτ]ῷ νύμφην [Θάλειαν]. | [(c. 18 letters) διδα]χθῆναι Μαρσύ[αν τὴν ἀδλητικὴν ...]*<sup>5</sup> See also schol. viii 93a and Parsons on L **3548** fr. 65, where *Δωκίθεος* may be a mistake for *Κωκίθεος*. It looks, therefore, as though hyp. b and presumably also some of the other hypotheses to the *Idylls* come from the commentary used in P<sup>1</sup>, although it cannot be ruled out that the passage just quoted was originally a note on *Δάφνιδι* in *Id.* viii 1. If Wendel is right in believing that the reference to Sositheus was copied from Apollodorus of Athens (cf. schol. *Id.* X 41cd = Sositheus *TrGF* 99 F 2a and Apollodorus, *FCrHist* 244 F 149) and that the excerpts from Apollodorus in the scholia come from Theon's commentary (see *Überl.* 65 f., 95 f., 102), then the commentary used in P<sup>1</sup> may be Theon's. This is also suggested by a comparison between the aetiological notes on the name Melampous in P<sup>1</sup> at the foot of col. xviii (see P.Oxy.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν κνίθαις is glossed ἐν ἀκαλήφαις in P<sup>2</sup>. According to schol. vii 109/110d the first is koine, the second Attic. P<sup>1</sup> has an incompletely deciphered note on vii 110 which says that nettles cause irritation, but apparently does not mention the name ἀκαλήφη, so it looks as though the scholion comes from a commentary influenced by the atticizing studies of the second century. Compare Wendel's analysis of the botanic scholia, *Überl.* 130 ff., especially 135 f. The gloss in P. Berol. on οἰ]αρέοις, τὰ φύλλα τῆς ἀμπ[έλου, is also botanical (see Wendel, op. cit.).

<sup>5</sup> [Δαξέανδρος δ' ὁ Αιτυλὸς διδα]χθῆναι Μαρσύ[αν τὴν α. ὑπ' αὐτ(οῦ)] or [ἄλλοι δ' ὑπὸ Δάφνιδος διδα]χθῆναι? Of course, it is not certain that the sources were named in the papyrus, but the content is certainly the same.

L p. 114) and in schol. *Id.* iii 43/45g and schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 118 21d (= Dieuchidas, *FGH Hist* 485 F 9), attributed by Wendel to Theon (*Überl.* 97 f.).<sup>6</sup> This kind of evidence, however, is inevitably precarious and cannot serve as definite proof. Unfortunately, the notes in  $\Psi^1$  and  $\Psi^3$  do not overlap, so one cannot tell how far they rely on the same sources.

The similarity between the new commentary and the scholia is not very great. They agree on the meaning of *ἀνάλιπος* in verse 56 (*ἀνυπόδητος*), but not on its derivation. They agree that the plants mentioned in 57 are *ἀκανθῶν εἶδη*, but there is no trace in the scholia of the papyrus' long note on *ἀσπάλαθος*; schol. b has a shortened version of the etymological derivation given by Amarantus, who can be ruled out as the author of this commentary. The copy of the text followed in schol. 57a had *ράμνοι* (or *θάμνοι*) in the text with a variant *κάκτοι*; that used in the papyrus commentary had *κάκτοι* in the text for which an enigmatic variant is given.

The date and the provenance of the commentary would make Theon a likely author, as a copy of his commentary on Pindar's *Pythians* has been found at Oxyrhynchus (XXXI 2536), and his name appears in the commentary to Alcman (XXIV 2390), and in the marginal notes of several other papyri from Oxyrhynchus (XXXVII 2803; XXV 2427; V 841; VII 1174). His commentary on Theocritus definitely included *Id.* iv as schol. 50/51c comes from it (see Wendel's app. crit. and Claus Guhl, *Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon* (Diss. Hamburg, 1969) 27); but there is no sign in the papyrus of two notes in the scholia which almost certainly come from the commentary used by the fifth-century Alexandrian scholar Horion, that is Theon's (see Wendel, *Überl.* 44): schol. 62/63a *φιλοῖφα: οὕτω καὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῶν κόρυφος λέγεται ὁ ὡς κόρη οἰφόμενος* (as in 3298 2) and schol. 62/63c *Σατυρικοίς' ... λέγεται δὲ παρὰ τὸ κάθη*. It is unfortunate that the note on the plural *Πάνεcci* in 63 (col. ii 12) has not been preserved, as schol. de belong to a group of scholia about Pan which Wendel (*Überl.* 91) believed to derive from Apollodorus through Theon's commentary ( $\Psi^1$  is equally frustrating: it has the beginning of a note above verse 63, *παρατετήρητ(αι) ἔτ[ι*, and then breaks off).

With Theon apparently ruled out as well, there is one remaining known candidate, Asclepiades,<sup>7</sup> to whom Wendel (*Überl.* 80) does in fact ascribe the variant *κάκτοι* in iv 57, but only because Asclepiades is the source of two other variants, *δρομαλίδες* in *Id.* v 94, an attractive alternative to *δρομαλίδες*, and *δύβριδος* for *Θύβριδος* or *Θύμβριδος* in i 118 (see Gow ad loc.), so the ascription to him is by no means certain.

<sup>6</sup> See also Ingrid Löfner, *Die Melampodie* (Meisenheim 1963) 31. The phrasing in the papyrus, (3) *ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου μελαμβήναι* and (4) *ἄπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας* is reminiscent of schol. Ap. *φρσι δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δόματος* and *ενεβη δὲ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μελαμβήναι*.

<sup>7</sup> On Asclepiades see A. Adler, *Herm.* 49 (1914) 39–46.

The text has been collated with the editions of A. S. F. Gow (Cambridge <sup>2</sup>1952) and C. Gallavotti (Rome 1946, <sup>3</sup>1993) and of H. L. Ahrens, *Bucolicorum graecorum Theocriti Bionis Moschi Reliquiae I* (Leipzig 1855), the scholia with Ahrens II (1859) and C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Teubner 1914 (1967)).

col. i (=fr. 1)

ρμδ

. [ ] .

]ονάνδραδαμαζει

] . . . [ ] . μικρονες [ ] ω

] λ [ ] κονανδρα . .

. . . . . ] ε [ ] . ει . . . . . υ . ων ιςό

χ [ ]

. . . ] ό [ κ ] ξρ . . . . . μηανάλιπος . .

. . . ] οβ [ ] . [ ] . . . μηαν [ ] πόδητοςφη

. . . ] νπαραγε ουεκτεθλιπταιδε

τ [ ] . ] υεκτηςλεξεω [ ] . [ ] . . . . . που .

] . [ ] ] ειςιγαρεντ [ ] . . . . . ] εσικακοικαι

10 ] . [ ] ] απαλαθ [ ] . [ ] . [ ] . . . ωνε [ ] ] θηειρη

ταιδεκακτος [ ] . . . . . ] ουσα [ ] . [ ] . . . . .

ξειγραφεταικαιβαττου [ ] . . . . .

κ [ ] . . . . . ] νουηδασπαλα [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] παλασσεινοεστινκατ [ ] . . . . .

15 . . . . . ] ο [ ] . ] απαλανθρον [ ] . [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] . [ ] ] κινου [ ] . [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] . ] σανκαλα . . [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] ] κκαλιδοςκαιγα [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] . . . . . ] . ] νετα . [ ] . . . . .

col. ii (=fr. 2)

] ώνθρω [ ]

[ ] ] ησατυρικ [ ]

[ ] ] ικακοκ [ ]

[ ] . . . . . ] θαυμα [ ]

[ ] ] τηηλικ [ ]

χε . τουφη [ ]

νοσσυη [ ]

] ] οικε φ [ ]

. . . . . ] ] υςπαν [ ]

ρμδ

. [ ] .

τύμμα και άλικ]ον άνδρα δαμάζει·

] . . . [ ] . ] μικρόν ξς[τ]ω

ή] λ [ ] ] κον άνδρα κ

. . . . . ] ε [ ] . ] ει . . . . . υ . ων . ] εις ό-

5 ] ρο]ς ό[κ]χ' ξρηις, μη ανάλιπος ξρ-

χέ]ο, Β[ά]τ[τ]ε· μη άν[υ]πόδητος, φη-

σί]ν, παραγενοῦ. έκτέθλιπται δε

τ[ό] ῡ εκ τής λέξεω[ς] ά[ναλι]πους.

] / [ ] ] ειςι γάρ εν τ[οις] όρ]εσι κάκτοι και

10 ] απάλαθ[οι, ά]κ[αν]θών ε[ν] ] δη. ] ειρη-

ται δε κάκτος [ ] . . . . . ] ουσα [ ] . [ ] . . . . .

ξει γραφεται και βαττου [ ] . . . . .

κ [ ] . . . . . ] . [ ] ] νου. ] ή δ' άπάλα[θος] παρὰ

τὸ] ] παλάσσειν, ] εστιν κατ[α-

15 . . . . . ] . [ ] ] και ] παλανθρον απ[ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] . [ ] ] κινου [ ] . [ ] . . . . .

. . . . . ] ] ασαν σκαλανθρ [ ]

. . . . . ] ] κκαλῶος και γα [ ]

. . . . . ] . . . . . ] ] αυεται [ ]

col. ii (=fr. 2)

εὔ γ', ]

5 ] ώνθρωπ[ε φιλο]φα. τὸ τοι γένος

] ] η̄ ] Σατυρικ[οις] ] εγγύθεν η̄ Πάνεσ-

ς] ] ι κακοκ[νάμοικω]ν ] ερίζει· . . .

. . . (.) ] θαυμα [ ]

] τήμ ] ήλικ[ίαι

χε . του φη [ ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] τὸ γέ-

10  $\nu\omicron\kappa\ \sigma\upsilon\ \eta\ [\ ]$   
 $[\ ]\ \omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\ \phi\ [\ ]$   
 $\tau\omicron\ ]\psi\epsilon\ \Pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\alpha\kappa$

## col. i

There are traces in the upper margin above  $\nu\delta\rho\alpha$  (perhaps a horizontal stroke), but one cannot tell what was written there.

2 ] . . . [ , three specks level with the tops of the letters: the first apparently part of a horizontal bar, the second a minute speck slightly higher, the third the upper part of a circle. [ ] . . . remains of an upright stroke bending or smudged upwards to the right at the top, possibly connected from the left midway down:  $\eta$ ? Otherwise  $\iota$ ,  $\nu$ ? Too upright for  $c$ .

3 At the end  $\kappa$  is probable, then apparently a slightly forwards-sloping upright followed by the foot of a diagonal sloping down to the right. The latter suggests  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$ , but the first stroke appears to be too upright for these letters; there is not room for  $\kappa[\ ]\kappa$ .

4 ] . . . a dot on the edge of the break level with the tops of the letters; after this the lower part of  $\epsilon$  and the end of its tongue touching the next letter (a hasta:  $\iota$ ?) is visible; then comes a trace on the edge of a small hole which looks like a vertical stroke or vertical+cross-bar; on the other side a short, slightly downwards sloping horizontal at mid-letter level protruding over the top of a short upright, followed by a slightly lunate upright with a short slanting mark a little below its tip: this could be read as [ ]  $\eta$  with an extra hook on the second hasta or as  $\pi\epsilon$  (possibly  $\tau\epsilon$ , cf.  $\tau$  in 14), although both would be abnormally formed; after this the left-hand upright and the tips of the diagonal strokes of  $\kappa$  are fairly certain; then two specks on the upper level, under the first a slight trace, e.g.  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$  or perhaps  $\tau$  or  $\psi$ , but there is no trace of a hasta in the middle. After  $\nu$  a letter formed of two diagonal strokes:  $\chi$  rather than  $\lambda$ , as the right-hand upper tip of the letter can be distinguished as a separate dot over the first stroke of  $\omega$ . After  $\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is abraded but certain.

5 ] . . . a diagonal stroke sloping down from left to right over the full height of the line followed by a free space:  $c$  with the top lengthened in a flourish?  $\kappa$  has been deleted by means of a stroke through its lower diagonal and  $\chi$  written above (there is hardly room for  $\chi[\chi]$  and the preceding stroke appears to be the acute accent above omicron, not  $\chi$ ).  $\epsilon\rho\pi\eta\iota\varsigma$  rather than  $\epsilon\rho\pi\eta\varsigma$  with an extra-large sigma; hardly  $\epsilon\rho\pi\eta\iota\varsigma$   $\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  rather than  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; of the acute accent only a faint trace above  $\lambda$  survives. At the end of the line specks consistent with  $\epsilon\rho$ .

6  $\beta[\ ]\ ]$ , foot of  $\alpha$ +foot of  $\tau$ ? [ ] . . . rounded top of  $\epsilon$  (?), then dot at middle level which is more probably the extended tongue of  $\epsilon$  than a high stop or colon (the second tau was wide: there would be room for  $\beta[\alpha]\tau[\tau\omicron]\epsilon$ ).

7 Between the uprights of  $\pi$  a small stroke: displaced or unintentional? Over  $\epsilon$  a blob of ink: also unintentional? After  $\epsilon$  the traces fit an abnormally wide  $\nu$  (4 mm instead of 2-3), but the papyrus is torn here.

8 ]  $\bar{\nu}$  rather than ]  $\bar{\chi}$  After  $\lambda\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\omega[\ ]$  the bottom left-hand corner of  $\alpha$ , rather inky, as if retraced. At the end of the line  $\upsilon\bar{\nu}$  is certain, of the last letter only the faintest trace remains.

9 In the margin before  $\epsilon\iota\iota$  there are two specks of ink above and below a dash, consistent with a dash sloping down to the left.

10 ] . . . [ , foot of a hasta [ ] . . . trace of upper right-hand edge of a letter

11  $\epsilon[\ ]$ , not  $\iota$  or  $\upsilon[\ ]$  [ ] . . . diagonal stroke, top right-hand part of  $\chi$  or  $\kappa$  [ ] . . . tip of a letter  
 Further speck on a detached fibre.

12 Only the hooked tip of  $\upsilon[\ ]$  is visible, but it cannot be anything else.

13 ] . . . rounded stroke (right half of circle) followed by speck level with tops of letters: ]  $\mu$ , ]  $\theta$ .

14 ] . . . rounded top: ]  $\epsilon$  more likely than ]  $\nu$  (but cf.  $\nu$  in 8).

15 ] . . . top of letter End, perhaps  $\epsilon\rho[\ ]$

16 ] . . . ]  $\eta$  or ]  $\tau$ , then an upright starting with a hook at the top and curving slightly to the right, followed by a speck a little lower than the top of the first stroke:  $\kappa[\ ]$ ? If  $\upsilon[\ ]$ , the first stroke is unusually straight, but cf.  $\upsilon$  in ii 7 [ ] . . . top of hasta

17 ] . . . two specks consistent with a stroke sloping down to right: ]  $\alpha$ ? . . . [ , almost certainly  $\nu\theta[\ ]$

19 ] . . . apex of  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$  rather than  $\lambda$  [ ] . . . merest speck level with tops of letters

## col. ii

4 [ ] . . . foot of hasta

9  $\chi\epsilon\iota$  rather than  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon$ , but cf. the narrow upsilon in 7; the tip of  $\upsilon$  touching  $\tau$  may be visible  $\eta[\ ]$ , faint but fairly certain: hasta with a trace of the horizontal bar

11 ] . . . rounded top of letter slightly higher than  $\alpha$ ;  $\beta$ ,  $\varsigma$ , possibly  $\epsilon$  To the right just above  $\epsilon$  a faint sloping stroke, rather low for an acute accent. A trace after  $\epsilon$  could belong to the right-hand upright of a wide letter, e.g.  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ .

## Col. i

Lines 1-4 contain the lemma, *Id.* iv 55, followed by almost three lines of comment. The lemma must have been in the last line of the previous column:  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ ]\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\lambda\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\ \delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ . - $\zeta\epsilon\iota$  also P and Greg. Cor. *Dial. Dor.* 108, MSS a and b: - $\delta\theta\epsilon\iota$  the other Theocritus MSS. Of the papyri,  $\Psi^3$  consistently has - $\zeta$ -;  $\Psi^2$  has both - $\zeta$ - and - $\delta\theta$ -: sometimes (*Id.* xv 28, 101; xxii 2)  $\zeta$  is corrected to  $\delta\theta$ , once (xviii 32)  $c$  was written at first and altered to  $\zeta$ ;  $\Psi^2$  has both, see Hunt & Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 4; Gow, *Theocritus I* lxxix; H. Maehler on P.Berol. 21182a, *Id.* iii 1  $\kappa\omega\ ]\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ , *ZPE* 4 (1969) 116; T. Molinos Tejada, *Los dorisismos del Corpus Buxholceum* (1990) 120ff.

2  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\zeta[\ ]\tau$ : paraphrase of  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$  cf. schol. 55a  $\tau\acute{o}\ \eta\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha$ ,  $\iota\nu'$   $\eta'$   $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\upsilon\ \tau\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\ \eta\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu\ \eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ , schol. b  $\tau\acute{o}\ \eta\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\rho\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ ,  $\iota\nu'$   $\eta'$   $\delta\epsilon\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omicron\pi\omega\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\ \delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ . Perhaps  $\tau\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\delta\ ]\tau\theta[\ ]$ ,  $\eta\ \mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\zeta[\ ]\tau$   $\nu$  | [ $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\mu\omega\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \eta\ ]\lambda[\ ]\kappa\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha$  . . ., or alternatively  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ ]\tau\epsilon\zeta[\ ]\tau$ :  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\zeta[\ ]\tau$   $\nu$  | [ $\tau\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\mu\omega\varsigma\ \eta\ ]\lambda[\ ]\kappa\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ ]\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ ]\epsilon\ ]$  . . . (this writer, however, would probably have written  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  with  $\nu$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \delta\omicron\nu$ , see below i 14). The juxtaposition of  $\eta\ ]\lambda[\ ]\kappa\omicron\nu$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha$  suggests that  $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$  was taken adjectivally as in schol. 55a, not adverbially as in schol. 55b.

4 ]  $\epsilon\iota$  . . .  $\nu$   $\omega\upsilon$ : possibly ]  $\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa$ - or  $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\kappa$ -, then e.g.  $\mu\upsilon\chi\omega\nu$ ,  $\tau\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\chi\omega\nu$ : possibly a participle agreeing with the speaker of verse 55 ( $\epsilon\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$  (?), but  $\psi$  is not very likely), or with Korydon pulling out the thorn ( $\epsilon\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\gamma\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu$  perhaps not quite the right terms).  $\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\delta\omega\nu$ , giving verse 55 to Korydon instead of Battos, would be an idea worth considering, but is also not a likely reading.

4-6 Lemma *Id.* iv 56. The writer wrote  $\delta\kappa'$  and corrected it to  $\delta\chi'$  (apparently not  $\delta\chi\chi'$ ), which suggests that he is copying an exemplar of the commentary this may have had  $\delta\chi$  or  $\delta\iota\chi$ :  $\delta\chi\chi'$  Iunt.:  $\delta\kappa\kappa'$  KAGU:  $\delta\chi\chi'$  HDTr.Ald.Call. ( $\delta\chi\chi'$  S):  $\delta\chi\chi'$  PQW (these MSS. also have  $\delta\kappa\alpha$  instead of  $\delta\kappa\kappa\alpha$  in *Id.* xi 22; at *Id.* i 87 the scribe of L 3545 wrote  $\delta\kappa$  and corrected it to  $\delta\kappa\kappa$ ). On  $\delta\kappa\kappa\alpha$  see Gow II 592 f. In the papyrus  $\delta\kappa'$  seems to be treated as a slip, not an alternative reading, although KAGU have  $\delta\kappa\kappa'$  and there are some other instances in K and in papyri (especially  $\Psi^3$ ) of tenuis before aspir, said by Apollonius Dyscolus (*syntr.* 335b = Alcman fr. 87 *PMG*) to be a feature of doric dialect; so in L 3548 (=  $\Psi^3$ ), *Id.* viii 34 ( $\pi\eta\ ]\ \rho\omicron\kappa[\ ]\ \delta$ ). See Molinos Tejada, op. cit. 19-21.

$\epsilon\rho\eta\iota\sigma$  (or - $\eta\varsigma$ , cf. Ahrens) KA:  $\epsilon\rho\eta\iota\varsigma$  P.

$\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  K:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  the other MSS. ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda$ - APAlid.Iunt., according to Ahrens, and schol. a (GUE):  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ - schol. b (T)).

6-8 Paraphrase of  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\omega$  followed by a comment on  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : 'the upsilon has been ejected from the word,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ '. Compare schol. 56a and b, Hesych.  $\alpha$  4327  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (g:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  H between two other words in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ -). *El. Gen.* = EM 107. 14  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , *Sud.*  $\alpha$  2375 = 2412, all presumably from Theocritus commentaries with the explanation  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . There is some further evidence for the initial alpha: a humorous epigram quoted by Hegesandros (2nd cent. BC) in Athen. IV 162a (= D. Page, *FGE* no. GLV, pp. 475 f.), 3  $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$  (- $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda'$   $\delta\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda$ - the MS.:  $\nu\eta\lambda$ - Schwyzler, *Griech. Gram.* I 453 n. 3); an inscribed poem of the first century AD from Kios (T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios* (1985) no. 19.3),  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  at the beginning of a hexameter ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  Herwerden); and Hesych.  $\alpha$  4867  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (H: - $\epsilon\iota\lambda$ - Schmidt, but the explanation,  $\delta$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \rho\omicron\sigma\iota\ \mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , suggests an original - $\alpha\lambda$ ( $\lambda$ )-). The MSS. tradition favours  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - (alpha could have been omitted more easily than added), but  $\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is used by Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg.* 3.646) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 635) in the meaning 'bare-foot' (cf. *El. Gen.* = EM 603.32; *El. Gud.* 407.59 Sturz and Hesych.  $\nu$  480  $\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$ ). In the earliest instances of the word  $\nu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is

transmitted (2256 fr. 59.21 = Aesch. fr. dub. 451p Radt, where the scribe specifies  $\nu\eta$ - not  $\delta\eta\eta$ -; Soph. OC 349; cf. *Sud.* v 314; Max. Tyr. 24.6, p. 206 Trapp; Phot. s.  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ ), although metrically  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  would be possible there too.  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  is treated as a contracted form of  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  in EM 603.33 which appears to be quoting Lyc. 635 + comm. ad loc., τὸ δὲ  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  ἀντιπῶδρον, συνήρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , cf. East. on Il. K 31, 787, 52 ff. ... καὶ  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ , οὐδ' ἐτελέε δὲ  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ . Eustathius, however, goes on to ask himself why  $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  does not keep the paroxytone accent like  $\text{Οἰδῖπτος}$  and  $\text{ἀελλόπτος}$  if it is a compound of  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (cf. Hdn. fr. 216, II p. 247 Lentz) and concludes that it must be equivalent to  $\delta\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  instead. A similar idea lies behind the derivation of  $\delta\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  from  $\delta\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  in EM 107.15. There seems to be no connection between the papyrus and schol. *Id.* iv 56ab in which  $\delta\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  is derived from \* $\eta\lambda\upsilon\psi$  said to be a kind of shoe, and  $\delta\eta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  with reference to the explanation of  $\pi\epsilon\delta\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$  given in schol. AD II. 2.44, Ap. S. 129.9 and schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.168b.

For the use of  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  as grammatical terms see also schol. Theocr. *Id.* i 3/4a and 82/85b; schol. Ap. Rhod. i 643/48 f.; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ii 52a; schol. Ven. Ar. *Ran.* 103, H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* VI, Index III p. 326, and for similar terms schol. A II. 8.409  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  κατ' ἑλλειψίν τοῦ  $\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (London 1905) 167.

9–18 Paraphrase of verse 57 ἐν γὰρ βρει ῥάμνοι τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι κομῶντι followed by at least nine lines of commentary on it. Unfortunately the verse itself is not quoted, but a speck in the margin before εἰεἰ might be the remains of a dash indicating that the lemma had been omitted.

κάκτος: the MSS have ῥάμνοι in the text, but the reading κάκτος is recorded in schol. 57a, γράφεται καὶ κάκτος, and the first part of schol. b, ἀσπάλαθοι· εἶδος ἀκάνθης ἢ πληγέντες οἱ ἑλαφοὶ ἀποθήηκουσι, could be based on an imprecise recollection of Philitas, fr. 16 Powell and really refer to κάκτος, not ἀσπάλαθοι. The MSS of the Vatican family also have the reading θάμνοι in schol. 57a (see Wendel, app. crit. to p. 151, 3 and 5; Ahrens II 175), but this may have originated as a gloss. The κάκτος has been identified with the cardoon, *γνατα carduaculis*, see PW II 2. 1455 s. 'Artischocke', Kurt Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1970) 79; so it is a plant more similar to the ἀτρακτυλῖς (verse 52) or *carthamus lanatus* (Oleg Polunin, *The Concise Flowers of Euripides* (OUP 1972) plate 157) and more easily stepped on inadvertently than ῥάμνος, buckthorn (Polunin, plate 71), cf. *Id.* X 4 ὡσπερ δις ποιμας, ἄς τὸν πόδα κάκτος ἐτυψε. According to Theophrastus (*H.P.* 6, 4, 10) it was to be found in his time only in Sicily (περὶ *Κικελαν*), not in Greece, so in the ears of an East Mediterranean audience the word κάκτος in *Id.* iv might have served to enhance the Italianate atmosphere of the poem, which is set near Croton. (Cf. however Alice Lindsell, *G&R* 6 (1937) 85, who points out that, if κάκτος in *Id.* X 4 is a literary allusion to Philitas fr. 16, it should not be used to prove that *Id.* X is set in Sicily.) On the other hand Arist. *Probl.* 906b 11 shows that ῥάμνος and ἀσπάλαθος (a kind of spiny broom, *calycotome villosa?*, see Polunin plate 51, PW s. *Ἀσπάλαθος* and R. M. Dawkins, *JHS* 56 (1936) 7) often grew together (καὶ μάλιστα οὐδ' ἀσπάλαθος ἢ καὶ ῥάμνος).

10 ἀ]κ[αν]θῶν εἶ[ς] ἄν; cf. schol. *Id.* iv 57b, schol. Theocr. ap. *El. Gud.* 214. 20 and *El. Gen.* = EM 156.30 εἶδος ἀκάνθης.

10–12 εἴρηται ... -ζει: an explanation of the name κάκτος? Schol. *Id.* X 4 says it is εἶδος φυτοῦ ἀκανθῶδους ἀπὸ τοῦ κα(τ)ακάνω, τὸ λυπὸν, but κατακάνω cannot be fitted in here. Perhaps something like εἴρηται δὲ κάκτος [ἢ κα]κοῦσα τ[ῆ] νύ]ξει or ἀ[μύ]ξει was written.

12 γράφεται καὶ βαττον[ι]: 'there is a variant βαττον[ι] ...'. This is strange: the vocative Βάττε occurs at the end of verse 56, but the genitive could not be made to construe there; moreover, here, between comments on κάκτος and on ἀσπάλαθος, the variant referred to must be in verse 57 and presumably intended to replace the word κάκτος. In this case it looks remarkably as though this scholar, although he uses the nominative plural in his paraphrase, knew a version of verse 57 in which both plant names were in either the accusative plural or the genitive singular (perhaps something like ἐν γὰρ βρει κάκτος τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι κόμα ἐντί, instead of κομῶντι, which would be very close to the reading of cod. Par. Reg. 2512 κομῶντι (see Ahrens) and QEM 156. 31 κομῶνται, cf. schol. *Id.* iv 57a ... κόμα γὰρ ῥάμνον καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι αἱ ἀκανθαί and the Homeric κόμη πανφύλλου ἑλαίης, *Od.* 23.195). Even then βαττον cannot be right. There is a thorny plant, βάτος ('bramble') mentioned by Theocritus elsewhere (*Id.* i 132; vii 140; xxiv 90), but its alpha is short and yet another hypothetical change in the verse seems highly undesirable (ἐν γὰρ βρεσει βάτος ... would scan, but Theocritus does not use the form βρεσει). An alternative interpretation, 'this verse is given to Battos', appears even more unpromising.

13 If the word ending in -ον is a further variant, κ[α]ὶ ῥά]μνον (or κ[α]ὶ θά]μνον, cf. the v. l. in schol. 57a quoted above) would fit and the gap after βαττον may then be filled with e.g. [ῆ] βάτου] or [οὐκ εἶ].

13–18 contain a long note on the etymology of ἀσπάλαθος which the author apparently regards as connected with a family of words in (ἀ)σπαλ- and/or σκαλ- which may be derived from a root with the basic meaning, 'to tear or cleave'. In this he anticipates the theories of more recent etymologists such as Persson, Solmsen and Walde (see Frisk, *Etymol. Wörterbuch* under *Ἀσπάλαθος* and *Ἰσφάλας*).

13–15 ἢ δ(ε) (rather than ἢ δὲ) ἀσπάλα[θος], then παρὰ | τῷ] σφαλῶσιν, rather than ἀπὸ | τοῖ]σιν παλάσσειν. Σφαλῶσειν does not otherwise occur, but κ[α]ὶ σπάλαθρον in line 15 suggests a verb beginning with σπ- in line 14; cf. Hesych. (M. Schmidt, ed. min. (Jena 1867) σ 1400) σφαλῶσεται· σπαράσεται and (σ 2843) σφαλῶσειν· τένειν, κεντεῖν. The papyrus may have continued accordingly with ὅ ἐστιν κατ[ατ]έμν[ε]ϊν, cf. κατ[ακ]εῖτ[ε]ϊν, or e.g. κατ[αμ]ύ[σ]ε[ι]ν or some other verb of similar meaning.

15 κ[α]ὶ σπάλαθρον; cf. Hesych. (Schmidt, ed. min. σ 1399) σπάλαθρον (σπαύλαθρον MS.)· σκάλαθρον = Phot. 529. 10 Porson (= 169.21 Naber) and Poll. 7.22 (in a list of baker's implements) καὶ σπάλαθρον (σπάλαθρον the archetype of F and S, C) δ' ἐργαλεῖον θ' οἱ νῦν σκάλαθρον, cf. to. 113 σπάλαθρον. This instrument was apparently an oven-rake. The alternative form, σκάλαθρον, is given in the papyrus in line 17.

απ[ι]: ἀπ[ὸ]?

16 ]τ[ι] κ[α]ὶ [κ]ῆρον, ]πρῆκνον?

17 E.g. ... ἐψ[ε]σαν σκάλαθρον, ὅ ἐστιν εἶδος] σκαλῶδος? On the σκαλίς, which was used for digging, cf. schol. *Id.* X 14c τὸ δὲ ἄκαλα ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαλίς· σκαλίς δὲ ἐστὶ γεωργικὸν ἐργαλεῖον.

Here, as on verse 56, the etymological explanation given in the papyrus differs from that of the scholia and from those of Amaranthus and Eraphroditus preserved in the *Etymologica*, see schol. 57b (from Amaranthus?) ἀσπάλαθος δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῶν πληγέντων (ἀποσπάσαι ἦτοι) ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (cf. Ahrens, II 175, Wendel, *Uebers.* 43) and *El. Gud.* 214.20 (*El. Gen.* = EM 156.30) ἀσπάλαθος· εἶδος ἀκάνθης· εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ σπῶ, σπάλαθος καὶ ἀσπάλαθος. οὕτως Ἀμαράντος εἰς τὸν Θεόκριτον. Ἐραφρόδιτος δὲ (fr. 7 Luenzer, from his *Λέξεις?*) παρὰ τὸ σπαλίσειν ἐτυμολογεῖ, ὅ ἐστιν ξύειν, ἢ ἢ σπάλαθος καὶ ἀσπάλαθος (cf. *El. Gud.* 214. 8 and 23 f., EM 156. 36 and 39, Hesych. a 7749. *Sud.* a 4199).

19 If line 18 continued with καὶ γὰρ], the explanation of ἀσπάλαθος may even have run on into line 19. Otherwise one might try a short lemma from verse 58 with a comment, e.g. μύλλει· οὐ πᾶντα] σρονουαίωσιν.

col. ii

3–6 Lemma: *Id.* iv 62–63, the last two verses of the poem: εὐ γ' ὤνθρωπε Φ!

6 ἐρίδειε the MSS. except K<sup>1</sup> (ἐρίδειε). In the lemma in i 1 the papyrus had δαμάζει with ζ.

7 θαμά [οἱ θαμά]ζειν]: Battus marvels at the old man's virility.

8 τῆ ἡλικ[ί]α must refer to Aegon's father, the old man Battus is talking about.

9 -χει, -χεῖτο? Or perhaps πολυ]χεῖτος, 'very salacious', said in *Sud.* η 201 s. ἡλέκτωρ of the cock, cf. EM 425. 40 (-όχητ-). With this supplement the whole passage may have run something like this: (ὅ) ὁ Βάττω]σιν θαμά]ζειν αὐτοῦ δυνος ἐν] τῆ ἡλικ[ί]α ταύτῃ ἐτι πολυ]χεῖτος φη]σίν, or, assuming that the first sentence ended with ἡλικ[ί]α, ... Ἐπι γὰρ (οἱ δὲ) τοῦ πολυ]χεῖτος φη]σίν τὸ 'φιλοῖψα'.

10f. Paraphrase of τό τοι γένος ff.? σοθ suggests that the author understood τοι as the dative σοί rather than as the affirmative particle: τό γέ]λλος σοθ ἢ [κατῶροι ἐγγος ἢ Παῶν] ἔοικε φ]ηεν ... If, however, the stroke above the epsilon after kappa is in fact an accent, then line 11 is likely to contain a quotation (perhaps with κέψφος, 'gullible fool'; there seems however to be more admiration than mockery in Battus' words).

12 το]ρε Παν]τα: e.g. πλείους φησίν? Cf. schol. iv 62/63de.

M. MAEHLER

## IV. DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

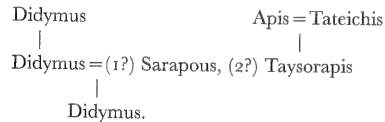
## 4433. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF BEQUEST

A 4.B5/5 (C322)

7.5 × 13.5 cm

22 September 130?

Most of the persons concerned in this document can best be presented in a genealogical table:



In the text the youngest Didymus acknowledged to Taysorapis, described as the 'former wife' of his deceased father, that he had received all the goods, utensils, and household furniture left by his father. Since Taysorapis seems to have had the responsibility for the goods, it seems likely that 'former wife' means 'widow' and that she was the second, or last, wife of his father, and that his own mother, Sarapous, had died or been divorced at an earlier stage.

Omitted from the table is Horus, who was the guardian of Taysorapis for this legal transaction and is described only as her kinsman (*συγγενής*). He had no official father and was officially registered as the son of his mother Tanesneus.

The occasion for the delivery of the goods to the deceased's son is not explained. The right to continued use of goods of this type is frequently bequeathed to spouses by will, see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* 177 § 3 c. Sometimes this use is specifically for life, but sometimes it is conditional on continued care for the children and the estate, and in a few cases it is revoked on the remarriage of a widow, see CPR VI 1.8-10, SB VIII 9642(4).8-11, P. Diog. 9.10-14. Perhaps it is a permissible guess that the occasion for the delivery of the goods in this case may have been the prospect of the remarriage of Taysorapis.

The body of the document is well preserved, but the papyrus is broken at the foot at a point which leaves it uncertain whether the subscription is complete or not. The writing runs along the fibres, but no sheet-join survives to prove that the written side is the recto of the original roll. The back is blank.

*Δίδυμος Διδύμου τοῦ Διδύμου  
μητρὸς Σαραποῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων  
πόλεως τῇ γενομένη τοῦ μετῆλλα-  
χότος μου πατρὸς Διδύμου γυναι-*

5 κὶ Ταῦσοράπει Ἀπειτος μητρὸς  
Τατείχιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Ὠρου χρη-  
ματίζοντος μητρὸς Τανεσνέως  
10 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω[ς] χαίρειν. ὁ-  
μολογῶ παρελιθῆναι τὰ ἀπολειφθέν-  
τα ὑπὸ τοῦ σημαιομένου καὶ με-  
τηλλαχότος ἐμοῦ μὲν πατρός, σοῦ δὲ  
ἀνδρός, Διδύμου ἐπιπλα καὶ σκευῆ  
15 καὶ ἐνδομενείαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα  
καὶ μηδὲν σοὶ ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ  
ἐγκαλέσει[ν] μηδὲ ἐπελεύεσθαι  
μηῖτε περὶ τούτων <μηδὲ> περὶ ἄλλου μηδε-  
νὸς ἀπλῶς γραπτοῦ ἢ <ᾠ>γράφου πρά-  
20 γματος τὸ σύνολον τῶν ἐκ τῶν  
ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώ-  
σης ἡμέρας παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ.  
κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος  
Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
Θῶθ κῆ. (m.2) Δίδυμος Διδύ-  
25 μου παρελιθῆα  
τὰ ἀπολιφθέντα.

7 l. συγγενοῦς 11 ὄπο 14 l. ἐνδομενείαν 15 l. ἐγκαλεῖν 16 l. ἐγκαλέσειν  
22 L 23 τραϊανου 26 l. ἀπολειφθέντα

'Didymus son of Didymus grandson of Didymus, mother Sarapous, from the city of the Oxryhynchī, to the former wife of my deceased father Didymus, Taysorapis daughter of Apis, mother Tateichis, from the same city, with as guardian her kinsman Horus, officially described as the son of his mother Tanesneus, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received the goods and utensils and household furniture and all the other things that were left by the above-mentioned and deceased Didymus, my father and your husband, and that I have no claim against you nor will I bring claims in future nor take proceedings either about these things or about any other matter whatsoever written or unwritten at all from former times until the present day under any pretext. The chirograph is binding. Year 15(?) of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Thoth 25. (2nd hand) I, Didymus son of Didymus, have received the goods left (by my father).'

2-3 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. On the forms of the name of the city of Oxryhynchus see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-292.

3-5 τῇ γενομένη τοῦ μετῆλλαχότος μου πατρὸς Διδύμου γυναικί. See introd. para. 2.

5 ἄπειρος. For this genitive of the name ἄπειρος see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 57.  
7 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς (l. συγγενοῦς) κτλ. On the guardianship of women see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 175, id. *Opera Minora* ii 353–377 (= *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 2 (1938) 293–314).

7–8 ὄρου χρηματίζοντος μητρὸς Ταγεσέως. On the large category of persons with no officially acknowledged father see H. C. Youtie, *ΑΠΑΤΟΡΕΣ*: 'Law vs. Custom in Roman Egypt', *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, 358–369.

18 γραπτόν ἢ ἄγράφον. The usual formula is ἐγγράπτου ἢ ἀγράφου; for γραπτόν cf. XXXI 2583 18, XLI 2975 14–15, P. Harr. I 141.5, all from Oxyrhynchus. It is possible that this was the standard Oxyrhynchite formula: XXVII 2471 22 has [ἐ]γγράπτου ἢ ἀγράφου and a photograph of this item, now in the British Library, shows certainly enough space to impose the word and probably enough ink to justify reading ἐγγράπτου, but the persons involved in the contract, an Alexandrian *synchoreisis*, are Roman and Alexandrian citizens without any certain connection with Oxyrhynchus.

ἢ ἄγράφου. Aphaeresis of initial vowels, including alpha, is well attested in the papyri; see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 320–1.

22 κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. See H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 145, 'Er (the formula) besagt, dass der Inhalt der Urkunde das Verhältnis der Parteien bestimme'; he translates the term into German as 'masgeblich'. Cf. M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden* (1960).

(ἔτους) ιε. The figure for the year is damaged: iota is clear, then there is a small hole, from which emerges only a short stroke curving downwards towards the initial alpha of Ἀντοκράτορος. In view of the smallness of the hole it seems that epsilon, = 5, is the best possibility. Gamma, stigma and theta, 3, 6 and 9, are excluded, alpha, beta, delta and zeta, 1, 2, 4 and 7, could only have been accommodated if they were unexpectedly tiny, but some degree of uncertainty remains.

24–26 The subscription is written in laboured capitals, but is correctly spelled except for one venial iotacism in ἀπολ(ε)ῖφθῆντα (26). The form of the two examples of tau makes a strange impression: it begins with a hook formed by a stroke first rising steeply and then arching over to descend into the upright; a crossbar is perched on top of the arch. This clearly derives from the form familiar in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period in which the first half of the crossbar is written first and descends into the upright before the second half of the crossbar, or a complete new crossbar as here, is added in a second stage.

The style of the writing belongs to the category studied by H. C. Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφου: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', *Scriptumculae* ii 629–651 = *GRBS* 12 (1979) 239–261. This tends to suggest that the subscription is autograph, but the papyrus breaks off so close to line 26 that it is not even certain that the subscription is complete, and it is certainly possible that the subscription of an amanuensis could have followed. The preserved height of c. 13.5 cm is only about half what one might expect from a piece of papyrus cut from an average roll.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4434. RECEIPT FOR MILITARY CLOTHING

47 5B.42/B(1–4)B

7.5 × 9 cm

15 August 154?

This receipt was issued to the *κακκοποιοί* of Oxyrhynchus by Claudius Germanus, an *optio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*. It links the garments called *κυρία* with *κακκοποιοί* for the first time and so suggests that *κάκκον* (or *κάκος* or *κάκκος* or *κακάς* or *κακής*) might be a generic term for a woollen garment made by a particular process, and *κυρία* such a garment in a particular design, see 3 n. In addition it illustrates an aspect of the supply of clothing to the Roman army. A brief review of the little that is known of this process before the fourth century is given by J. A. Sheridan, *Roman Military Clothing Requisitions in Egypt* (Diss. Columbia, 1990) 95–107. The documents are few, but BGU VII 1564 (AD 138) and P. Lips. 57 (AD 261; for gladiators) also mention *κυρία* in this context.

The text is written across the fibres; the back is blank and has a rather coarse surface which looks more like the *verso* of the roll. One might therefore speculate whether the text was written on the *recto* of a piece which had been turned through ninety degrees. There can be no certainty, since no sheet-join is clearly visible, but along the top edge of the piece there is a short stretch where the written surface appears to overlap a new set of fibres; if so, the upper part of the original roll would have been to the left of this text and the piece has indeed been rotated. The piece of papyrus was cut to its present shape before the text was written, since the crowding of the last line clearly shows that the writer was aware of the proximity of the bottom edge.

The informal script does not look like the work of a professional scribe; in fact, it seems conceivable that the *optio* himself wrote the text. At least this is not unlikely, since literacy was a necessary qualification for the similar rank of *signifer*, see P. Freib. IV 66 introd. n. 4 (p. 60), with references; cf. R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* 76 ii 8, xix 9, 78(31).5 for subscriptions of *optiones*, and John Lydus, *De Magistr.* Bk. i, ch. 46 (ed. A. C. Bandy, p. 70, l.12) *ὀπτιώνες, αἰρετοὶ ἢ γραμματεῖς*. Certain features of the script and the orthography of the text lead to the speculation that the writer was more familiar with Latin than with Greek, at least as regards writing. The epsilons and etas are often very like Latin *e* and *h*. The spelling of *μετροπάλεως* and, most strikingly, *Ὀχυρυχείτου*, could both conceivably be explained as having been written by a person who spoke and wrote Latin. The former is a phonological mistake, epsilon for eta, whereas the latter is a wrong spelling based on a confusion of chi and Latin *X*.

Κλαύδιος Γερμανὸς  
ὀπτίων λεγιώνος  
γ- Κυρηναϊκῆς κακ-  
κοποιοῦς μετροπό-  
5 λεως Ὀχυρυχείτου  
διὰ Θεώνος Ἰωφελί-  
ωνος. παρέλαβον τὰς  
κυρίας μεγάλας πεν-  
τήκοντα πέντε ἅς ἐξέ-  
10 δωκα ἕμειν ὦν καὶ τὴν  
τεμὴν ἕμειν ἐκ πλή-  
ρους ἀπέδωκα. ἔτους  
ιζ- Ἀυτοκράτορος Ἄντω-  
νίνου τοῦ κυρίου, Μεσορῆ κβ-

3–4 l. κακκοποιοῦς 4–5 l. μετροπάλεως 5 οχυρυχειτου: 2nd chi corr. ex incerto: l. Ὀξυρυχ(του)  
10 l. ἕμειν 11 l. τεμὴν, ἕμειν



<sup>6</sup> Claudius Germanus, *optio* of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, to the *cassopoei* of the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, by agency of Theon son of Ophelion. I took delivery of the fifty-five large Syrian garments which I commissioned from you, the price of which I also delivered to you. Year 17 of the Emperor Antoninus the lord, Mesore 22.<sup>7</sup>

1 The name Claudius Germanus is not uncommon: for examples from Egypt, see P. Erl. 38.6, SB VI 9118.1, P. Hib. II 276 (= P. Cugusi, *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum* No. 177). 1, 6, Abdullatif Ahmed Aly, *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University* 3 (1955) 116; b ii 53. For various remarks on these items and persons see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers* (MAVORS II) 370-1 (= *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 773-4), M. P. Speidel, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 164, E. Birley, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 120, 122. There is no indication that the man here is to be identified with any of the others.

2 *ὀπίτων*. *Optiones* appear with many additional titles and in many different contexts, cf. B. Dobson, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* 316-7, D. J. Breeze, *Britannia* 7 (1976) 127-133, esp. p. 127 n. 3 = D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* (MAVORS X) 71 n. 3, R. Marichal, *Les Ostraka de Bu Njem* 68-9 and n. 9, with a reference to D. Van Berchem, *L'Armée militaire* 136-7, for their concern with the commissariat of the army. Most relevant in this connection may be PSI IV 465 (c. 265), where three inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus acknowledge to an *optio* of the *legio II Traiana* that they still owe, in respect of years 10, 11 and 12 of Gallienus, a consignment of skins for the manufacture of armaments 'on behalf of the metropolis', and XIX 2230 (c. 119-124), where an *optio* is concerned with the provision of blankets.

2-3 *λεγιόνος γ'* *Κυρηναϊκής*. This legion, part of the first garrison of Egypt, had its headquarters at Bostra in Arabia by 126, see CIL VIII 2532, 1804, with D. Kennedy, *HSCP* 84 (1980) 303-4, 305-6, well before the earliest possible date for this papyrus, see 12-14 n. Either there was a detachment of it in Egypt somewhat later in the second century or these goods were to be exported, cf. P. Ryl. II 189 and BGU VII 1564.5 for clothes destined for army units in Judaea (AD 128) and Cappadocia (AD 138), see J. A. Sheridan, *Roman Military Clothing* 101-2, 103-4.

3-4 *κασσοπίως* (l. *κασσοπίως* or *κασσοπίως*). For the routine phonetic interchange of upsilon and omicron/iota see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 197-8. It is impossible to choose between single sigma and double, cf. Gigac op. cit. i 154-165, esp. 158-160.

Cf. Hesychius (ed. Latte, vol. ii p. 420, no. 85) *κάσσω* *ἱμάτιον, παχὺ καὶ τραχὺ περιβόλαιον* 'a thick and rough wrap-around cloak'; Herodian (ed. A. Lentz, vol. i p. 208 l.18) *τὸ δὲ κάσσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κάσσω γίνεται κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ σ*. 'ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ἱματίου ὄντω καλουμένου; LSJ s.v. *κάσσω*, P. Chantraine, *Dict. Étym.* ii 502, s.v. *κάσσω*.

The raw material for the rough and heavy garments made by these workers was dead wool stripped from sheep hides, according to the reconstruction and interpretation of P. Petr. II 31(1) by U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* i 225 n. 1, cf. BL I 368. E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie Textile* 117 deduced that they spun their own yarn as well as weaving the garment. Since what they supply here was *curia*, we may perhaps conclude that the words in *κασ-* denoted this class of wares and that the *curia* was a particular variety.

4-5 *μετροπάλευς* (l. *μητροπάλευς*). Confusion of epsilon and eta is fairly well attested, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 242, but here may be the result of Latin influence, see next note.

5 *Ἰοχρυσείτου* (l. *Ἰοξρυσείτου*). The iotacism is routine, but the use of chi for xi has nothing to do with phonetics and must be caused by the writer's familiarity with the use of the Latin X to denote the ks sound.

8 *curia*. Cf. Hesychius (ed. M. Schmidt 1419) *curia*: *ἡ παχέα χλαῖνα. ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ὑρῆς. ἢ ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται. ὄντω δὲ Σύροι; Pollux, Onom. VII 61 ἦν δὲ curia ὁ πολλοί, ταύτην αὐτόσημον ἱματίον ὁ κομμοί (cf. Hesychius (ed. Latte i 286 no. 55) *αὐτοπόκιον: μὴ κεκαρμένον. οἱ δὲ ἐπέλεξε ἱματίον*); VII 69 *curia* δὲ ἱματίον Κρατίνος κτλ.; X 64 *curia* καὶ *cura* (*cicura*?) ἢ *ἕναπτος*. This thick cloak was evidently produced by the craftsmen called *κασσοπίως*, see 3-4 n.*

P. Lips. 57.29 (AD 261) lists *curia* among goods delivered to the gladiatorial school in Alexandria. More enlightening is BGU VII 1564.5-6 (AD 138) *curiān λευκῶν τεσσάρων μήκωνος* *ἐκάστης πηχ(εων) 5 πλάτους πηχ(εων) 8* *δλκ(ῆς) μῶν(ν) γ (ἡμισυ) (τέταρτον)*. These four *synia* were among goods ordered by the prefect of Egypt to be sent to army units in Cappadocia. They were white, but it seems that that needed to be specified. Each of them was six cubits by four, nine feet by six, or 2.77 metres by 1.85. According to the printed text each weighed about 1.64 kilos, but this is suspiciously little, no more than the tunic of smaller dimensions mentioned immediately before, although the *curia* is supposed to be thick; the sublinear dots may

indicate that the weight unit was different, or more likely that iota, the digit for ten, is missing; 13.75 minas would be about six kilos.

9-10 *ἀε ἐξέδωκα ἡμῖν*. On *ἐκδίδόναι* meaning 'put out to contract' see LIX 3989 6-7 n., citing in relation to *δημόσιος ἱματισμός* P. Phil. 10.17-21 (dupl. BGU VIII 1572.13-16).

12-14 If this is correctly read and interpreted as 22 Mesore of year 17 of Antoninus Pius, the equivalent is 15 August 154.

13-14 The regnal formula is anomalous and has no direct parallels. Since Antoninus was the principal name of Marcus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, as well as Pius, there may be some possibility of confusion. However, Elagabalus had too short a reign to be a candidate here, and Commodus and Caracalla were junior colleagues of their fathers in their seventeenth years, so that only Marcus could afford a realistic alternative. In that case the date would be 15 August 177. In view of the Latin influence on this text it seems useful to compare the Latin formula in BGU VII 1692.14-15 *item anno VIII Imp(eratoris) Antonini (ni) domini n(ostri) isdem co(n)s(ulibus)*. The consular and regnal date given in lines 1-4 relates to the reign of Pius, AD 144. Probably our writer was modelling his text on a Latin original similar to the one in BGU 1692.14-15.

14 *Μεσορῆ κβ*. The damage is compounded by the efforts of the writer to crowd the line in between 13 and the lower edge, but this seems to be a satisfactory interpretation.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4435. RULINGS ON THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF MINORS

37 3B.87/H(4)A

21 × 16 cm

Early third century

This new piece gives the top of the column of which the foot was published as VII 1020 and like it contains legal pronouncements relating especially to minors. Parts of three sections survive, headed 'chapter from the *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla the lords Augusti', 'from requests (*αἰτημάτων*) of Alexandrians', and 'chapter from the *lex Laetoria*'. The *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla is not mentioned elsewhere and remains mysterious. Although we cannot fail to be reminded of the so-called Apokrimata (SB VI 9526 = P. Col. VI), a collection of 'responses' given by Severus and posted in public in Alexandria over the period 14-16 March 200, especially since this pronouncement is dated 20 March 200, the partial quotation here seems more discursive and comprehensive than those terse and specific rulings and it is not easy to guess from what type of text it originated. The term 'requests of Alexandrians' is unfamiliar too, though they obviously formed another section of the legal business of Severus on his visit to Egypt. The *lex Laetoria* was a law perhaps of the second century BC affording a remedy to minors defrauded of their lands by guardians, see A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* 157-8; its text is not preserved and the loss here of an extract from a Greek translation of it is much to be deplored.

The text of 1020 is given again for the convenience of the user. There is no join between the pieces; not much can be missing, but the extract from the *lex Laetoria* must have been quite short, because what survives at the top of 1020 is a *subscriptio* to a petition, not part of the law.

One interesting feature shared by the two pieces is the use of a cross in the margin to mark, presumably, two passages of special interest to some user of the papyrus. This

is probably related to the use of chi as a marginal symbol in literary papyri, perhaps meaning  $\chi(\rho\eta\sigma\iota\epsilon)$  or  $\chi(\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu)$ , see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Pap. Brux. 26) 20–21.

An endorsement on the back has the name of Claudius Julianus in the dative. The placing is inconvenient, near the middle of 4435, see 23 n., but it seems to be an address. A. S. Hunt suggested in the introduction to 1020 that this was a collection of legal precedents associated with a petition; perhaps therefore we may imagine that the petition was one to the prefect of Egypt of that name who was in office c. 204–6, cf. G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 305, 38 (1980) 85, *ANRW* X.i 512. Most of the left edge is quite straight, although two large blots are right on the edge and look as if they might have been divided by a break there. Probably the petition would have been part of the same roll, but the precedents could well have been prefaced to the petition, see 4437, P. Flor. III 382, esp. 29–30 and SB X 10537, with the discussion of the phenomenon and the examples cited by R. Katzoff, 'Precedents in the Courts of Roman Egypt', *ZRG* 89 (1972) 273–8.

It is strikingly clear that many of the Greek words are translations of Latin legal terms, especially in the first extract:  $\alpha\eta\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ , *impubes*;  $\omicron\iota$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\chi\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$   $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *qui rei publicae causa absunt/afuerunt*;  $\omicron\iota$   $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ , *minores viginti quinque annis*;  $\kappa\upsilon\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\theta\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , *commune auxilium*;  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ , *rationis est*;  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , *adulescens*;  $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , *coactus*;  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , *circumscriptus*. The question of Latin influence on Greek legal texts has been considered by W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 101–3. He points out that 'the use of Latinisms, in the sense of Greek equivalents of Latin technical terms, does not provide secure proof that the texts as a whole were not composed in Greek' (p. 102). N. Lewis takes a more favourable view of the likelihood of translation from the Latin, see e.g. M. Capasso *et al.* (edd.) *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. XIX) ii 348–9, R. S. Bagnall, W. V. Harris (edd.), *Studies ... A. A. Schiller* 136–7. LI 3614 2–3 states that Severus on one occasion delivered his judgment in his native tongue ( $\tau\eta$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\omega$   $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ ). Here the extract from the *lex Laetoria* is said to have been translated 'as well as possible', *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*.

One last, and even more speculative, idea on the style of these pieces: the use of  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$  (5) in the first extract could be of special significance. Expressions such as *manifestum est, notum est, rationis est*, have been identified as the most typical feature of the style of the *a libellis* who served from 194 to 202, who was Papinian according to A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 56–9, esp. 58 (top). Can we speculate that the *a libellis* accompanied the emperor on his visit to Egypt? We know that the emperor made decisions  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\phi\iota\lambda\omega\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\kappa\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$  (XLI 3019 6–9) and that Papinian was in Severus' entourage during his visit to Britain in 208–11, when he was the praetorian prefect, see F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 95–6 and n. 89.

Written along the fibres; there is a manufacturer's sheet join at the extreme right edge.

κεφάλαιον ἐκ γνώμονος Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίου (m.2) τῶν  
κυρίων Σεβ[αστῶν. (up to c.10 letters?)]  
ἠ (ἔτους) (m.1) μηνὶ Φαμενώθ κδ— ἐπὶ μέρους οὕτως· τοῖς  
ἀνήβοις καὶ [τοῖς τῆς δημοσίας]  
χρείας ἔνεκεν ἀποδημοῦσι ἢ ἀποδημησασὶ ἢ κυνηθῆς ὑπάρξει  
β[ο]θήθεια, τοὺς δὲ  
ἐλάττονος πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι ἐτῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατηθῆναι  
φ[α]νερῶς(?) περιεγράψαν(?),]  
5 καὶ αὐτοὺς βοθηείας τυχεῖν εὐ[λ]ογον. τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐ  
τρελείων τῆ[ν] ἡλικίαν διηγορευ- (?) ]  
μένα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι φυλαχθήσεται. (vac.)

ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων. πρὸ γγ- Καλανδῶν  
Ἰ[ανου]αρίων· ἀξιούντ[ων] νεωτέρων τινῶν τὰ (?) ]  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων πρα[χ]θέντα χωρία βέβαι[ά] τε μ[ε]νέου  
καὶ μὴ [παρ]ανόμως στέρεσθαι (?) ]  
αὐτῶν· μετ' ἄλλα· Καίσαρ εἶπεν· ἐὰν δὲ ν[ε]ώτ[ε]ροις τις  
X προσέ[λθ]η τῷ ἡμετέρῳ βήματι ]  
10 καὶ εἴπῃ, "ἀναγκαθεῖς περιγραφεῖς πέπρακά μου [τὰ] χ[ω]ρία  
πολλῶ [ἐλάττονος τῆς ἀξίας", ]  
οὐ βοθηήσομεν αὐτῶ; τί οὖν; ἰδιώτη μὲν βοη[θή]σομεν, οὐ  
βοη[θή]σομεν δὲ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ τα- ]  
μείω. (vac.)

κεφάλαιον ἐκ νόμου Λαι[τ]ωρίου ἐρμην[ε]υθέντος κ[ατὰ] τὸ  
δυνατόν [.] [ c.15 letters  
.. —[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]... [ c.15 letters

## 1020

[.]...[.]... εἰ περιγραφῆ[ c.50 letters  
τῶ κρ[α]τ[ί]κ[ω] ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυ[χε]. (vac.?)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σευήρος [Εὐσεβῆς  
 Π[ερτινάξ] C[εβατὸς] Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς]  
 Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀν[τωνίνος] C[εβατὸς] ἔχει β[οήθειαν]. ὁ  
 ἡγούμε[ενος] τοῦ ἔθνους]  
 20 τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐδικι[ήσει]. πρ[οσέθη] ἐν  
 Ἀλεξανδ[ρεία] (year), month, (day).]  
 X Προκόνδη Ἐρμαίου δι' Ἐπαγάθ[ου] ἀπελευθέρου. εἰ τὴν ἐκ  
 τῆς ἡ[λικίας] ἔχει βοήθειαν].  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμε[ενος] τοῦ ἔθρου]  
 ἐδικι[ήσει]. πρ[οσέθη] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία (year), month, (day).]  
 Back, downwards along the fibres: (m.3?) Κλαυδίω Ἰουλιανῶ.

2 L 4 ελατ' τονος: 1 ἐλάττονας; εἰ corr. from η; τδ: ο corr. (from α?) 11 ]μ altered  
 21 Προκόνδη: ετα corr. from omega 23 ἐδικι[ήσει: εἰ corr. from eta

Chapter from the *gnomon* of Severus and Antoninus, (2nd hand) the lords Augusti, 8th year, (1st hand) month of Phamenoth 24. In part, as follows: "To *impuberes* and persons who are or were absent on public business the normal remedy shall be available; as for those under twenty-five years of age, if they (were clearly deceived?) so that they might be defrauded (?), it is reasonable for them too to obtain a remedy. The pronouncements(?) relating to those under the age of majority shall be observed also in respect of the cities".

From requests of Alexandrians. On the 13th day before the Calends of January. When (some young men?) requested that the lands sold by their guardians should remain warranted in their possession and (that they should not be illegally deprived of?) them, after other matter, Caesar said, "If some young man approaches (our tribunal?) and says, 'Under duress and because of deception I sold my lands at much (less than their value?)', shall we not give him a remedy? What follows? We shall give a remedy to a private person, but give no remedy to (our *fiscus*)?".

Chapter from the *lex Laetoria* translated as well as possible ...

... if you are being defrauded(?) ... apply to the epistrategus, *uir egregius*.

Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Varus son of Damasaeus(?). If you can claim the remedy arising from age of minority, the governor of the province will judge the case for release. Posted in public at Alexandria, on (date).

To Procondes(?) son of Hermaeus through Epagathus freedman. If you can claim the remedy arising from age of minority, the governor of the province will judge the case for fraud. Posted in public at Alexandria, on (date).

Back. (3rd hand?) To Claudius Julianus.

1 The *gnomon* of Severus and Caracalla is not mentioned elsewhere. The fact that the item quoted is a 'response' given by Severus during their visit to Egypt suggests that the *gnomon* might have been a comprehensive collection of judgments delivered in Egypt during their visit, but this supposition must remain for new evidence to confirm or refute. The title of the famous *Gnomon of the Idias Logos* (BGU V) gives a parallel for the use of the term for a set of regulations or rulings.

On the emperors' visit to Egypt see J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* 118–124, F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 244–5, H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* 218–221. For

the papyri recording its legal activity see P. Col. VI (*Apokrimata*) pp. 27–8, with additional references in LI 3614 introd. Add 4437 and LX 4068.

Probably nothing is missing at the end of the line, see 7, where only the month and day are given before the beginning of the extract. The formula *προσέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ* as written in 1020 or in P. Amh. II 63 (= M. Chr. 376). 11–12, quoted below in 2 n., would probably be too long, but it could have been abbreviated in the second hand or less generously spaced, see next note, and remains possible.

1–2 The last three words of line 1 and the year number and symbol in line 2 have been added in blacker ink and a more informal hand. *μηνί* ranges with the beginnings of lines 3–6.

2 The date is the same as that of the public posting in Alexandria of the second of the two responses recorded in P. Amh. II 63: *προσέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἡ (ἔτει) Φ[αμενὸθ] κδ* (11–12, cf. 6). Here it is not certain whether we have the date of the delivery of the response or that of its posting.

*ἐπὶ μέρος*. The prepositional phrase is slightly unusual, since it normally means 'particular', 'specific', see LSJ s.v. *μέρος* IV 2.b citing Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 2 τῶν ἐπὶ μέρος φροντισῶν, Polybius 7.7.6 τὰς ἐπὶ μέρος γράφειν πράξεις, 3.32.10 αὐτὸ ἐπὶ μέρος συντάξει. Rare too in the papyri, it is used in connection with claims to part of a guaranteed possession, see P. Köln II 232.12 ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ, XIV 1704 17 ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτῶν. Here it obviously means 'in part', but it is difficult to divine whether it has a special sense distinct from that of the common *μετ'* ἄλλο, cf. 9.

*καὶ* [. The kappa is written on the sheet-join, in such a way that the upper part of the upright is not perfectly in register with the lower part. There is also a longish oblique stroke running through the kappa from below on the left to above on the right, it too changing direction slightly as it passes over the join. This seems meaningless and is most probably an accidental stroke.

2–3 Young persons under the age of puberty (*ἔνηβοι*=*impuberes*, see M. Gdz. p. 251 n. 2) are linked with those who are or have been absent on state business. The same Greek phrase, *δημοσίας χρείας ἔνεκεν*=*rei publicae causa*, occurs in P. Clair. Masp. I 67087.5, but the context is not relevant here. The link is that both were eligible to ask for the annulment of acts done to their detriment, termed *restitutio in integrum*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 682 s.vv. *restitutio in integrum*, *restitutio in integrum propter absentiam*, *restitutio in integrum propter aetatem*, but the pronouncement here seems to state that they have a remedy from other, less unusual, processes of Roman law, cf. *Digest* IV 4.16 (from Ulpian *ad edictum* bk. 11) *In causis cognitione etiam hoc uersatur, num forte alia actio possit competere citra in integrum restitutionem, nam si communi auxilio* (cf. ἡ συνήθη βοήθεια) *et mero iure munibus sit, non debet ei tribui extraordinarium auxilium*, 'Also relevant to the investigation of cause is the question whether perhaps any action could lie other than *restitutio in integrum*. For if a *minor* is protected by ordinary remedies and the normal law, extraordinary relief ought not to be given to him' (trans. A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* i 131). 'Ordinary' law may mean *inter alia* an action under the *lex Laetoria*, cf. 7–12 n., 13 n. *ἔνηβος* is new in the papyri. Under classical Roman law a child under seven years old was an *infans*, then boys up to fourteen years, and girls up to twelve, were *impuberes*.

*βοήθεια*=*auxilium*, see *Cod. Just.* II 21.4 *praeses provinciae in integrum restitutionem dare tibi auxilium debet*, cf. 21.1, 23.1, 24.1, etc., with 24.2 *minoribus annis uiginti quinque ... in integrum restitutionis auxilium superesse ... placuit*. *Superesse* here is equivalent to our *ὑπάρξει*, cf. P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. *supersum*, 7, 'to be (still) available to or at the disposal of'.

3–5 After they had ceased to be *impuberes* Roman citizens remained *minores* until the age of twenty-five. It is not perfectly clear why the distinction between *impuberes* and *minores* *viginti quinque annis* is made here, but since in Egypt minority generally ended with puberty at the conventional age of fourteen, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law* 178, there may be some question of extending to the Egyptian population, or a portion of it, advantages usually available to Roman minors only. If so, this would be an unexpectedly early date, cf. N. Lewis, *Ἀθήλεις Before and After the Constitutio Antoniniana*, *BASP* 16 (1979) 117–119.

4 The run of the sense seems to make it inevitable that we should correct *ἐλάττονος* to the accusative plural, but the restoration at the end of the line is speculative.

*φαίμεθα*. The *a libellis* of this period is judged to place much emphasis on proof, see A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 57, so that this may be better than *φαίει* or *φαίμονται*, cf. *ibid.* n. 12, quoting *Cod. Just.* 3.31.2 *si liquido probatur*.

For *περιεγράψαν* cf. 7–12 n.

5 *εὐ[λογο]*. This word is found also in 4437 3, in another response of Severus and Caracalla which also survives in XII 1405 and in XLIII 3105. 1405 2 has *εὐθλόγῳ ἔστω* where 4437 3 has *εὐλογο[ν] ἔστω*; the same passage in 3105 1–2 is badly damaged. Dr Rea writes: 'I was unable to confirm *εὐθλόγῳ* at the time of the

publication of Vol. XLIII, but now, whereas *εἰλογον* seems impossible to reconcile with the traces, I think that I could reasonably be read as *παρτε|χούργας* [τῶν] *εισαντοῦ, εἰ[8]η[λ]ογ.* The three copies of this response show how unreliable in detail the Greek texts of legal pronouncements are liable to be, see 4437 introd., but it is interesting that these phrases seem to be the counterparts of such Latin phrases as *manifestum est* and *ratiōnis est*, which have been described by A. M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 57, as ‘the most striking feature’ of the Latin style of the *e libellis* of the period 194–202, whom he identifies as Papinian. His use of both formulas may help to explain the variation in this particular text. For *ratiōnis* = *εἰλογον* see G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossarium Latinarum* II 169, 10 *ratiōnis igitur ελογουον* (I. *εἰλογον οὖν*). For *ratiōnis* as a predicate see P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1576 s.v. 7(d).

5 *τελείων τῆ[ν] ἡλικίαν*. Cf. P. Strassb. I 9.7 *τελείων* (read presumably *τελείων*) *τὴν ἡλικίαν*; Stud. Pap. XX 101 *μήπω τῶν παιδίων εἰς τελείων ἡλικίαν ἀφικμένων*.

5–6 The outline of the restoration is clear enough, though the word which ends in *-μενα* might be varied, e.g. *διατεταγμένα, ἀποπεφασμένα*, but the meaning of *ταῖς πόλεσι* is in doubt. It could refer to the Greek cities of Egypt, of which there were only three, Naucratis, Ptolemais Hermiu, and Antinoopolis, and it might in that case include Alexandria, not strictly speaking a Greek city, but an obvious anomaly, or it might refer to the nome capitals, which had just acquired the municipal attribute of town councils or were on the eve of doing so, or it might include all of these. Perhaps the last is the most likely, guessing that the point of the response was to give assurance that the Roman practice of extending legal help to young persons up to the age of twenty-five was to be applied also to peregrines.

6 *φυλαχθήσεται*. Cf. IV 705 61–2 *τ[ὸ] ὁμοιον δὴ καὶ ἐ[στ]ι τούτου φυλαχθήσεται*, ‘the same rule shall be observed in this case also’, likewise in a decision of Severus and Caracalla.

7 *ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων*. Cf. SB X 10967.20 *ἐξ αἰτημάτων Μεμφιτῶν. μεθ’ ἑτερα. Λιβερὰλ[ι]ς ἐπειν. κτλ.* The place is given as Memphis and the date as the 7th April 155; the extract is taken from records associated with a *conventus* held in Memphis by the prefect Sempronius Liberalis, cf. G. Foti-Talamanca, *Ricerche sul Processo* I 42–3 n. 111, n. 113, ii 266 n. 637. Severus and Caracalla obviously answered petitions from Alexandrians during their visit to Egypt, see introd. para. 1, although it is not obvious how the records were organized. The word *αἴτημα* is very rare in papyri, being found otherwise only in P. Flor. III 296.16 (VI); it is doubtfully restored in X 1273 28 (26), and doubtfully restored too in IGL Syr. 718.68, see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* 20, s.v. *αἴτημα*.

The date here, 20 December 199, is one of the earliest for the imperial visit, the earliest being 18 December (P. Flor. III 382.23,26), the same date applying to two responses which are among a group of six prefaced to a petition to the prefect of c. AD 222/3 from an Alexandrian citizen who wanted to claim exemption from public services in the Hermopolite nome, where he held land. The text is very badly damaged, but it is possible that these rescripts were answers to Alexandrian citizens and, if so, the Alexandrians may have been admitted to present their requests first on this occasion. Against this hypothesis we may note that the Oxyrhynchite petitioner in IV 705 claims that the Oxyrhynchites were admitted to the tribunal of Severus and Caracalla ‘first after the Pelusius’. Alexandria would be expected to take precedence over Pelusium. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that the Alexandrians had a separate hearing, before that of the inhabitants of the nomes.

7–12 This passage is full of uncertainties. However, the combination of *ν[εώτ]ερος* (9) with *περιγραφέις* (10) seems to relate to *circumscribitio adulescentium*, ‘defrauding young men’, which was an offence under the *lex Laetoria*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary* 388 s.v. *circumscribere*, 557 s.v. *Lex Laetoria* (Laetoria?) *de minoribus*. The form *Laetoria* is confirmed by the papyri, see 13 n. Its appearance below in 13 is a sort of confirmation that 7–12 relate to *circumscribitio*. An *adulescens* was a young man between fourteen and twenty-five years of age, see Berger, s.v., p. 352.

7 For *ἀξιώσιμ[ι]* cf. XLII 3019 13 *ἀξιώσαντος Διονυσίου κτλ.* The restoration could be varied in several ways; for *νεώτερον* see previous note.

8 *πραχθέντα χωρία* makes no obvious sense; the correction to *πρα[χ]θέντα* is suggested by *πέπρακὰ μου* [τὰ] *χωρία* in 10. Similar corrections have been made in a famous edict of a prefect of Egypt, see G. Chalon, *L’Édit de Tibérius Iulius Alexander* pp. 28–9 τὰ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν *πρα[χ]θέντα* (1.27), *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος λόγου πρα[χ]θέντων* (1.30), cf. commentary *ibid.* 137–157.

It seems most likely in this context that the *ἐπίτροποι* are guardians of minors, rather than imperial procurators, since the main subject is that of minority and the phrase *πέπρακὰ μου* [τὰ] *χωρία* in 10 ought

to refer to the same sort of transaction. (Some minors would naturally attribute the sales of which they complained to their guardians rather than to themselves.) But doubt is raised by the probable reference to the interest of the  *fiscus* in 11–12, see n.

It may be very relevant that Severus, in a speech to the senate delivered in 195, see *Digest* XXVII 9.1, forbade the sale of country or suburban properties (*praedia rustica uel suburbana; χωρία = praedia?*) by tutors or curators, except in certain circumstances. This may have given occasion for appeals against transactions concluded before the prohibition or afterwards in contravention of it. One of the exceptions might arise in connection with sales of lands for the purpose of settling debts. If a debt settled in this way were one to the  *fiscus*, we might easily imagine a conflict between the interest of the  *fiscus* and the laws in favour of minors.

At the end of the line the restoration would perhaps be more satisfactory if *χωρία* continued to be the subject and the meaning were ‘and not be taken from them’, but nothing convincing has been thought of.

9–10, 21 For the cross in the left margin opposite these lines see introd. para. 3. The two passages were presumably especially relevant to the case of the individual who commissioned the document, but we do not know whether the marks indicate his view of the case or the official view. The one in 9–10 at least looks as if it is by the same pen as the endorsement on the back (see introd. and 23 n.). Both passages relate to the deception of minors. The first indicates that he sold property during his minority and wished to have the sale annulled, the second that he or the authorities thought that the case should be settled in the court of the prefect of Egypt, presumably Claudius Julianus, see introd. and below 23 and n.

10 *ἀναγκασθείς*. This may be a translation of Latin *coactus*, and so introduce another legal concept, that of duress, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary* 391 s.v. *coactus volui*, 581–2 s.v. *metus*. This would be a separate action from one for *circumscribitio*, cf. 7–12 n., but a person applying to the emperor could well be asking him to appoint a lower judge and prescribe the best action available. For a similar case where force was also alleged see BGU II 378 (=M. Chr. 60).20–21 [ἐ]περ ἀνάγκασέν (I. ἡνάγκασέν) με γράφαι βία ἄκοιτα, *τυγχάνω γὰρ γεγραφώς* [τ]ούτο ἐτι ἐνός ὄν τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου.

At the end of the line we should perhaps expect the putative applicant to state that the earlier sale was disadvantageous to him, i.e. that the price was too low, cf. P. Lond. I 111(1).10–27 (pp. 200–201). In this document of the sixth century a man says that in his minority he sold property and was defrauded because the price was too low, *πρὸ [τῆς] μετέξ[ω]ς ἐνόμου ἡλικίας τῶν ἐκοις πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν τὴν πρῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ περιεγράφη. τὸ γὰρ τίμημα οὐκ ἔξεν τοῦ πράγμα[τος] ἐαυτῷ] ἔλεγε καταβηθῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἔλαττον* (11–13), cf. *ἐνεκεν ἐλάττωνος* (= *ονος*) *τιμῆς* (15), *περὶ παραλλήλου τιμήματος* (26). Compare *Cod. Just.* II 36.1, where although the minor claimed to have been defrauded by an imperial official, a *dispensator*, the price was again too low, *prelio longe minore*. Perhaps, therefore we should restore something like *πολλῶ [ἐλάττωνος τῆς ἀξίας]*, ‘for much less than its value’.

10–11 If at the beginning of line 11 *οὐ* represents *οὐδ*, these words must be a question, ‘Shall we not help him?’, rather than a statement, ‘We shall not help him’. This can be avoided by restoring something slightly different in 10–11, e.g. *πολλῶ [ἐλάττωνος τοῦ δικαί-]ου*. The sense remains much the same.

11–12 This section is much the most difficult to grasp both in grammar and in sense. The end in *μειω* suggests only a reference to the  *fiscus* as *το]μειω*. This is surprising, though it recalls *Cod. Just.* II 36, where the minor complains that he was defrauded by an imperial *dispensator*; we can also refer to P. Col. VI 55–6 *ἐπ[ε]ῖ τὴν οὐκἄν δεδημεύθει φής*, with A. Schiller, H. C. Youtie, *CE* 30 (1955) 334, 344–5. The appearance of the  *fiscus* suggests the possibility that the *ἐπίτροποι* might be Roman procurators rather than guardians of minors, contrast 8 n.

*τί οὖν* may stand on its own, meaning ‘What then?’ or ‘What follows?’, or the *τί* may introduce a longer question, ‘So why are we to give a remedy to a private person, but to give no remedy to our  *fiscus*?’. Although it is notorious that there was a tendency for the interest of the  *fiscus* to outweigh all others, this sentiment seems inappropriate to the general tenor of the laws and the professed policy of most emperors, cf. especially *Cod. Just.* II 36.1 *ius publici fiscus noster in iure restitutionis sequitur auctoritatem* (AD 200), *Digest* IV 1.8 *minores amiss etiam qui per tutores curatoresque suos defensi sunt nihil minus in integrum contra rem publicam restituantur, cognita scilicet causa*. The restoration therefore takes *τί οὖν* as a rhetorical question, ‘What follows?’, and the remainder of the extract as a statement that the emperors will favour the interests of minors even to the detriment of the  *fiscus*. We can perhaps compare the rescript found in 4437 and two other papyri, which declares that the  *fiscus* does not seek cessions of property from persons who profess to be too poor to perform a public service to which they have been nominated, but that such ceded estates should go to the persons nominated as replace-

ments, τὸ γὰρ ταμ(ε)ῖον ἡμῶν τῶν τοισὶν[τ]ω[ν] παραχωρήσεων οὐκ ἐπιφέρει, 'for our *fiscus* does not desire such cessions' (4437 7 8: this wording is guaranteed by the other copies).

In 11 the restoration is long, twenty letters against seventeen for 10 and eighteen for 9. Nevertheless, τῶν ἡμετέρων ταμείων seems likely, comparing *fiscus noster* in *Cod. Just.* II 36.1 (15 October 200), although τὸ ταμείον ἡμῶν in 4437 7, see above, no doubt translates the same expression; τῶν ἡμῶν ταμείων is a remotely possible, but very unlikely, word order.

13 On the *lex Laetoria* see introd. para. 1 and 7–12 n. above. The form *Laetoria*, rather than *Plaetoria*, is favoured by the papyri, cf. *RE* V 578, X 1274 13, XVII 2111 15, BGU II 378 (=M. Chr. 60).20–21, 611 (=M. Chr. 370) i 16–7 (*legis Laetoriae ... ajuvilio*, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 8.12.2).

The explicit reference to a translation is interesting, but is no guarantee that the other extracts were composed in Greek. The genitive agreeing with νόμου, rather than ἐμπνευσθέν agreeing with κεφάλαιον, could be used to argue that a translation of the whole law was available for use and that it was not necessary to make a translation of just one chapter on this occasion, but perhaps this would be pressing the wording too hard.

For κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν in reference to translation cf. e.g. BGU VII 1662.7, P. Diog. 9.1, P. Harris I 67 ii 11, XIX 2231 28, PSI V 549.2, SB I 5231 (=5275).1, 20, 5246.1, UPZ II 177.1, and the close of the Potter's Oracle (55–6; *ZPE* 2 (1968) 208).

δυνατόν [. . .]. The two letters of which there are traces may have followed δυνατόν directly and there can hardly have been much space before them. However, we would expect the heading to end here.

14 . . . . The horizontal looks just like the numeral markers in 2 and 7. It is not easy to see the need for a number. It seems unlikely that we had a precise date for this Roman law of the Republican period. Perhaps possible is a chapter number, see R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* 2958 B, reading perhaps ι . . . . Perhaps the best suggestion comes from Dr Coles, that is, that this is the significant age of twenty-five years marking the end of minority, reading κ[ε] in 7, and that the trace represented by the second dot belongs to κ.

15–22 =VII 1020, reprinted in P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* No. 17, and in J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* Nos. 220–222. The transcript has been checked against a photograph of the original taken in Cairo for the International Photographic Archive.

15–16 Line 16 is clearly part of an official *subscriptio* instructing a petitioner to apply to the epistrategus, and, as Hunt observed, not another imperial pronouncement. On *subscriptiones* see e.g. J. D. Thomas in E. Van't Dack et al. (edd.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* 369–382. There is no extra line space above it, and indeed line 15 may well be part of the *subscriptio* itself. Since the height of the two pieces combined is roughly 27 cm, it seems probable that the extract from the *lex Laetoria* was fairly short. It would no doubt have been followed by the usual blank space. It may be that 4435, 16 cm high, represents about half the height of the original piece and that 1020, 10.8 cm high, came after a loss of about 5 cm.

15 [. . . . .] . . . εἰ περιγραφή. In 1020 this line appears as [. . . . .] ας· εἰ περιγραφή. There is a space before εἰ. Possibly the subscription began here, and περιγραφή might represent the second person singular passive indicative περιγράφη, i.e. 'If you are being defrauded . . . apply to the *uir egregius* the epistrategus'. Before this ]ας cannot be confirmed from the photograph. One might rather expect a day number surviving from a date clause in a short form: (ἔτους) x (month) y (day) (1–30), see J. D. Thomas op. cit. p. 370. This is not necessarily the right view. The date might have stood at the end of 15 and the body of the subscription might have begun with line 16, cf. SB XIV 12087.17. In that case it is more difficult to imagine the nature of the preliminary matter in 15.

16 τῶν κρατ[ί]των ἐπιστρατήγων ἐντυ[χε]. In 1020 this line appeared as [. . .] . . . τῶν ἐπιστρατήγων ἐντυ[χε]. It was suggested by J. D. Thomas, *Epistrategos* ii 159, n. 49 that the epithet appeared here. BL VIII 240 interpreted this as τῶν κρα[τ]ιτῶν. The photograph shows more faint traces, most prominent among them the descender of the rho.

17–18 These lines are in part written in a more sloping and rapid script than the text above and below, but this more sloping script is not obviously an addition as it is in 1–2.

19 Δαμασάου. This name remains unique and therefore suspicious, cf. 21 n. If genuine, its nominative might be Δαμασάιος or Δαμασέας. The nearest known name is Δαμασάς.

20 π[ρο]σέβη[ν] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρεί]α. In 1020 this line appeared as π[ρο]σέβη[ν] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρεί]α. Perhaps a piece has been lost, but there is no indication now that the last word was abbreviated and no need to suppose

that the space is too short for π[ρο]σέβη[ν] in full. There is no visible abbreviation in any other part of the document. The year, month and day will have followed, cf. above 2 n.

J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* p. 445 restored [οἱ αὐτοὶ] at the end of this line. There seems no doubt that 21–2 contained another pronouncement of Severus and Caracalla, but there is no room to restore οἱ αὐτοὶ as well as the indispensable year, month and day. In a similar context we find rather ἄλλο τῶν αὐτῶν, see LX 4068 12, 16, but nothing is required here except the date.

21 For the cross in the margin see introd. para. 3 and 9–10 n.

Προκόνη (η corr. from ω). Hunt first interpreted this as a Latin name, Procunda, which has not appeared elsewhere, but in the margin of his copy of P. Oxy. VIII, now in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, he wrote a note confirming that pi is certain here, as it is, but referring to VIII 1130 2, where the name of the consul of AD 482 is given in the genitive as Τροκόνδη, cf. J. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1127–8; elsewhere it appears as Τροκόνδη, see BGU XI 2156.2, P. Rain. Cent. 107.1, P. Matrit. 7.2, and P. Lond. V 1896.1. A microfilm of this last confirms that it has Τροκόνδη rather than Τροκόνδη[ου]. For the genitive in eta cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 14. According to L. Robert, *REA* 90 (1977) 435 No. 553, Τροκόνδης is a name common in Lycia, Cibyratis, Pisidia, Isauria, Pamphylia and Western Lycia, cf. id. *Noms indigènes* 425 n. 4, and perhaps 427 (Ταρκόνδης). It seems quite likely that the same indigenous name is to be understood here. The change of the ending from omega to eta might be considered to offer some support to this suggestion.

24 Κλανδίου Ίουλιανῶι. See introd. para. 4. This looks like an address, but it stands about 9 cm from the left edge of the front, while addresses on letters are normally much closer. The explanation may be that the petition plus precedents formed a long roll with a large enough circumference to allow this line still to appear on the outside. Part of the back (about 9 cm wide) is darkened as if perhaps it had been more exposed, but the endorsement is at the edge of this dark area, not fully in it as might be expected. The most striking example of a long petition is II 237, the famous petition of Dionysia.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4436. PRIVATE ACCOUNT OF MONEY AND WINE

48 5B.25/G(3)a

14 × 26 cm

c. 207/8 or 175/6?

This private account has 4438 upside down on the back, a copy of an application for the registration of property certainly written after 250 (see 4438 5 n.) and dating probably from 252. The account is evidently earlier, since it is written along the fibres and presumably on the recto of the original roll, although there is no sheet join to prove it. It mentions regnal years fifteen and sixteen: to find such high numbers it is necessary to go back at least to the reign of Severus and Caracalla, that is to 206/7 and 207/8, and the single wine price which seems to emerge perhaps suggests an even earlier date, e.g. 15 and 16 Marcus Aurelius, 174/5 and 175/6, see ii 7–8 n. See 4438 introd. for the reuse of papyrus after such a long interval.

The papyrus is broken at the top, but the loss there is probably very little, to judge from the complete document on the other side (4438). The bottom edge is virtually complete and the edges on either side are vertical and only slightly damaged by wear, since they are the edges of the sheet which was cut out of the account roll to take the text of 4438. The fairly well preserved second column is an account of wine, mostly

delivered 'to you, Philiscus'. For the normal entries the amounts, which were on the right, are lost. At the foot of this are beginnings of seven more lines, which are short and crowded over to the right, being very rapidly written and much abbreviated. Their heading ζητ( ) probably indicates that they concerned arrears, and there were probably quantities given at the ends here too, see ii 34 n. The scanty remains of the first column are mostly sums of money in drachmas. They occupy the top half only; either the space below was blank or shorter lines were used in the lower half. Two lines in a more rapid style were written below and rather to the right (i 15-16). They are probably to be regarded as an intercolumnar note relating to the second column, but concerning δεξοc rather than οἶνος. Col. ii 7-9 are also in a more rapid style. It may be that i 15-16, ii 7-9 and ii 28-34 were all written in vacant spaces by a second person going over the account as first drafted.

It is very difficult to guess the context. Philiscus may have been a businessman or an estate employee receiving regular consignments of wine for retail to his customers. None of the persons mentioned has been identified.

## Col. i

]. -  
 ] ..  
 ] . α( ) κατὰ μέρος (δρ.) c  
 ] .. (vac.)  
 5 ] . κοι (vac.)  
 ] (δρ.) ρη . . . .  
 ] (δρ.) c  
 ] (δρ.) τ  
 ] (δρ.) c  
 10 ] (δρ.) c  
 ] (δρ.) c  
 ] . . . υτ( ) (δρ.) ρ  
 ] (δρ.) c  
 ] (δρ.) τξ  
 15 ] (m.2?) δεξ(ουc?) Ἀπολλῶc νομικ(δc) υγ  
 ] Πασ[ί]ων γυμνασιαρχ- ) λ

## Col. ii

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ . ] . μοι δια . . .  
 ις- ἀγνέχ(θη) κοι ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ [(vac.?) ] [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 καὶ μέχρι Χοίακ ιξ ἔρχεc [ [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 οἶνο(υ) γενήμ(ατος) ιε (ἔτους) ἄλ(λα) (vac.)  
 5 καὶ Φαῶ(φι) ιθ- γενεσί(οιc) Διονυσί(ου) υἱοῦ  
 τοῖc ἐν οἴκ(ω) (vac.) [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 (m.2?) Ἄγαθος κοcμ(ητ- ) οἶνου (τετρά)χ(οα) μ-  
 (ὄν) τιμ(ῆ) δοθ(ήcεται?) (δρ.) ρκ.  
 (vac.)  
 10 (m.1) οἶνο(υ) ὁμοί(ωc) γενήμ(ατος) ις (ἔτους) ἀγνέχ(θη) κοι  
 Φιλ(ίcκω) ποτ(έα) [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 καὶ ἄλ(λα) ἔωc Χοίακ ιξ- κατὰ μέρος (vac.) [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 Χοίακ ιθ- ἀγνέχ(θη) κοι ἀπὸ cείφω(νοc) ποτ(έα) [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 Μεχρίρ υγ- ἀγνέχ(θη) κοι ὁμοίωc [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 ις- ἀγνέχ(θη) κοι . [ . ] . α ἀπὸ παλ(αιοῦ?) κτήμ(ατος) [ [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 15 καὶ ποτέα ἀπὸ cείφω(νοc) εἰc δύο [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 Φα(μενώθ) λ- κοι Φιλίcκω ἀπὸ παλ(αιοῦ?) κτήμ(ατος) δια . . . [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 καὶ ἄλ(λα) οἶνου ἀπὰ (σίc) λιβικροῦ κτήμ(ατος) [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 Φαρ(μοῦθι) ις- κοι Φιλ(ίcκω) ἡνέχ(θη) ἀπὸ καταγείου [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 κγ- κοι ὁμοίωc Φιλ(ίcκω) [(τετρά)]χ(οα)  
 20 κθ- κοι ὁμοίωc Φιλ(ίcκω) ἀπὸ καταγεί(ου) [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 Παχ(ών) ιθ κοι ὁμ[ο]ίωc ἀπὸ καταγεί(ου) [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 καὶ ἀπὸ Παχῶν κβ- ἔωc λ- Παῖνι [ ἡνέχ(θη) κοι κατὰ μέρος ἀπ[ὸ] κατα-  
 γείου οἶc συμπέπειcα[ί] ἄλ(λα) [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [  
 [(τετρά)]χ(οα) [

25 και ἀπὸ Ἐπειπ α[-] ἕως ἐπαγομ(ένων)  
 ἔσχεσ κατὰ μ(έρος) ο[ἴε] συμπτέπεισαι [ (τετρα)χ(οα)  
 (γίνεται) (τετρα)χ(οα) ρ. . .  
 (m.2?) ζήτ(ει). Ἀμμών[ι]ος ς. . . [ Φανίας Φανίου [ Φ. . . . . γ( ) [ υἱὸς α. . . . . ητ( ) ε. . . [ (π)ρ(ο)εφωγη( ) (vac.) [ Cαρ( ) δι(ὰ) Cαρα( ) δνόμε(ατι) C. [ χάριν (vac.) [

Col. i  
 3 ] .<sup>a</sup>, κατα<sup>μ</sup>, and so throughout, ς=(δραχμή), and so throughout 12 ] . . . υ<sup>τ</sup> 15 οε',  
 νομ<sup>κ</sup> 16 γυμς

Col. ii  
 2 αννε<sup>χ</sup>, and so throughout 4 οιν<sup>ο</sup>, γενη<sup>μ</sup>, and so throughout, ιεϛ, α<sup>λ</sup>, and so throughout  
 5 φα<sup>ω</sup>, γενεσι<sup>ο</sup> διονυσι<sup>ο</sup> 6 οικ<sup>κ</sup> 7 κοκ<sup>μ</sup>, χ<sup>δ</sup>=(τετρα)χ(οα), and so throughout 8 L=  
 (δι)τ<sup>μ</sup>δο<sup>θ</sup> 10 ομ<sup>ρ</sup>, ις<sup>ς</sup>, φ<sup>λ</sup>=Φιλ(ί)κω and so throughout, πο<sup>τ</sup>? 12 σεφ<sup>ω</sup>; l. cίφω(νο); πο<sup>τ</sup>  
 14 πα<sup>λ</sup>κτημ 15 σεφ<sup>ω</sup>; l. cίφω(νο) 16 φα<sup>τ</sup>, πα<sup>λ</sup>κτημ 17 l. ἀπὸ; κτημ 18 φαρ<sup>τ</sup>,  
 ηρε<sup>α</sup>ποκ<sup>τ</sup> 20 καταγει<sup>ο</sup> 21 πα<sup>χ</sup>, καταγει<sup>ο</sup> 25 l. Ἐπειφ; επαγομ 28 ζήτ<sup>τ</sup>  
 30 gamma raised? 31 η<sup>τ</sup> 32 ρεφωγη) 33 cap), δ with iota below, cαρα)νομ<sup>κ</sup>

Col. i  
 '... by instalments dr. 200, ... to you ... dr. 118(?) ob. 6(?), ... dr. 200, ... dr. 300, ... dr. 200, ...  
 dr. 200, ... dr. 200, ... dr. 100, ... dr. 200, ... dr. 360.  
 (2nd hand?) Vinegar(?): Apollos, lawyer(?) 13, Pasion, (former?) gymnasiarch 30.'

Col. ii  
 (1st hand) '... to me through(?) ...  
 On the 16th there were delivered to you from the country tetrachoa (so many)  
 And up to Choeac 17th you had, in wine of the 15th year, another tetrachoa (so many)  
 And on Phaopth 19th for the birthday of Dionysius (your?) son, for the persons in the household,  
 tetrachoa (so many)'  
 (2nd hand?) 'Agathus (former?) cosmetes in wine tetrachoa 40, for which the price of dr. 120 shall be given(?).'  
 (1st hand) 'In wine likewise of the 16th year there were delivered to you, Philiscus, ready to drink  
 (tetrachoa so many)  
 And up to Choeac 17th by instalments another tetrachoa (so many)  
 On Choeac 19th there were delivered to you from the siphon, ready to drink (tetrachoa so many)

On Mecheir 13th there were delivered to you likewise tetrachoa (so many)  
 On the 16th there were delivered to you ... from the old(?) holding (tetrachoa so many)  
 And ready to drink, from the siphon, for(?) two (tetrachoa so many)  
 On Phamenoth 30th to you Philiscus from the old(?) holding through(?) ... (tetrachoa so many)  
 And, in wine from(?) the western holding, another (tetrachoa so many)  
 On Pharmuthi 16th there were conveyed to you, Philiscus, from the cellar (tetrachoa so many)  
 On the 23rd to you likewise, Philiscus (tetrachoa so many)  
 On the 29th to you likewise, Philiscus, from the cellar tetrachoa (so many)  
 On Pachon 14th to you likewise from the cellar tetrachoa (so many)  
 And from Pachon 22nd up to the 30th of Pauni there were conveyed to you by instalments from the  
 cellar, being those for which you have agreed, another tetrachoa (so many)  
 And from Epeiph 1st up to the intercalary days you had by instalments from the cellar, being those  
 for which you have agreed tetrachoa (so many).  
 Total tetrachoa 100+.'

(2nd hand?) 'Query. Ammonius ...  
 Phanius son of Phanius ...  
 Ph ...  
 (His?) son ...  
 There were reported (?) ...  
 Sar( ) through Sara( ) in the name of S ...  
 for the sake of(?) ...'

Col. i  
 3 κατὰ μ(έρος). The translation 'by instalments' is a guess. Where it occurs below, it is associated with  
 a note of a period of time over which wine deliveries were made, see especially ii 23, where it is written in  
 full. This suggests that the entry totals the amounts delivered on two or more occasions. Cf. perhaps XXVII  
 2472 γ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτῆς κόμης κατὰ μέρος ἐκ λεπτῶν, translated as 'from the same village from individual small  
 payments ...'.

5 coi. This matches the issues of wine 'to you Philiscus' in col. ii. Presumably Philiscus was receiving  
 money from the same source as the wine, which suggests some sort of internal arrangement within a business  
 or an estate. This might have some bearing on the seemingly very low wine price, see ii 7-8 n.

6 The traces at the end might possibly be interpreted as οβ[ο]λ<sup>ς</sup>; i.e. ὀβ[ο]λ(ο)ς, cf. LIX 3993 5-6 n.,  
 last para.

15-16 These lines are probably to be regarded as marginal notations to col. ii, since vinegar goes with  
 wine. The hand is rapid and more sloping than the rest, but very like col. ii 7-8, 28-34. The persons have  
 not been traced elsewhere.

On ὕξος, 'vinegar', see N. Kruit, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 267-8. Alternatively οε' might represent some form of  
 the name of Oxyrhynchus or of a derivative, e.g. -χέτης, -χητικές, or possibly -χέτιον, cf. ii 7-8 n. The figures  
 might denote vessels.

νομικ(ός). The term usually seems to refer to some sort of notary. For the confusing evidence see A. K.  
 Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 61.2 (1979) 309. The expansion νομικ(άριος) is  
 excluded because the first mention of that office falls in AD 298, see LIX 3985 introd.

Col. ii  
 5 This most probably indicates that Dionysius was the son of Philiscus, but a search of the Duke Data  
 Bank for a combination of the two names did not reveal any promising candidate for identification.  
 7-8 Cf. col. i 15-16 n. Agathus, cosmetes or ex-cosmetes, has not been traced elsewhere.

The price of the wine, 3 dr. for a tetrachoon, at least suggests an early date, although nothing very  
 precise can be said. Even the second century prices given by H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und  
 Löhne im römischen Ägypten* 58-73, seem to be mostly higher than this, although the measures and the quality  
 are both uncertain. Four choes were about 13.13 litres according to F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*  
 703, Tab. XA. By the middle of the third century, as Dominic Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society  
 in Third-century AD Egypt*, shows, the Heroninus archive attests prices between 8 and 20 drachmas (pp. 466-7)

for a ceramion/monochoron estimated as containing about 7 litres (p. 469). That estate's oxryrhynchiton contained about half as much again (p. 469), that is, although it is assessed there at c. 10.5 litres, it may well have been a four-chous jar. Our estimates of ancient measures are fairly imprecise and the measures themselves were probably variable. Those prices are well above what we find here. Here there is the possibility that this account records transactions internal to some business or estate, see i 5 n., and there may even be a further possibility that this entry could be interpreted as referring to an amount still to be paid in addition to a previous part payment.

<sup>10</sup> *πρτ(έα)*. Cf. 12, with what seems to be the same form of abbreviation, with a raised tau, and 15, where the word is given in full. It does not occur in the papyrological dictionaries or in the Duke data bank.

<sup>12</sup> *ἀπὸ κε(φω)νο(ς)*, cf. 15. It seems likely that this refers to what we also call a siphon, since its use was known to the Egyptians in Pharaonic times, see C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* IV.2 p. 1347 s.v. siphon, J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (revised S. Birch, 1878) vol. ii pp. 313-4. At a guess it was used in this case to draw the new wine from a large vat into four-chous containers. One of its advantages was that it could be used with care to leave the lees undisturbed at the bottom of the vat.

These deliveries seem to have been of wine just ready to drink, put into jars for these occasions. The contrasting entries below with *ἀπὸ καταγείου* suggest that that wine had been put into jars previously for storage in a cellar.

<sup>14</sup> [ ] α. The remains of the first letter suggest lambda; after the gap the trace is a descender close enough to the last letter to look like iota. No sensible word has been thought of.

*παλ(αίοβ?)* cf. 16. The superscript letter seems clearly to be a lambda. The word order suggests that it is not the name of the holding, so that *παλ(αίοβ)* seems to be the best possibility.

<sup>15</sup> *εἰς δύο*. Although *εἰς* is frequent with numerals, see LSJ s.v. III.2, suggesting 'to the number of two', or 'two abreast' or 'two deep', in this context the meaning remains mysterious.

<sup>18</sup> *ἀπὸ (καταγείου)*. Cf. 20, 21, 23-4, with 12 n. It is odd that the most drastically abbreviated version comes first.

<sup>32</sup> For the abbreviation of *πρὸς το* p' see XL 2915 20 n. This word (*προσφωρεῖν*) usually appears in official contexts. Since the hand is very rapid, there is the possibility that it is misread, in spite of appearances.

<sup>34</sup> *χάρων*. Presumably this is the prepositional use and it comes after its case, as usual. It suggests that quantities were given at the ends of the lines in this section also.

J. R. REA

#### 4437. RESCRIPT OF SEVERUS; APPLICATION TO A STRATEGUS

51 4B.18/G(1-3)a

10.5 x 12 cm

c. 229-236/7

This is the third surviving petition addressed to Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxryrhynchite nome, by men appointed to village liturgies who refuse to serve and, on the authority of the same rescript of Severus and Caracalla, which they put as a preface to their petition, surrender their property to the person responsible for their nomination, see XII 1405, XLIII 3105 (J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* Nos. 240A, B). This one finally contributes the beginning of the rescript, although in a slightly garbled form. It is instructive to see how many minor differences there are in the three versions of this seemingly crucial pronouncement, although most are mere phonetic spellings. Precision in these matters was not so important as it now seems to us, cf. e.g. the different texts of another rescript of the same emperors in the versions of BGU I 267 and P. Strassb. I 22 (Oliver, op. cit. Nos. 223A, B).

It is difficult to grasp the significance of the accumulation of documents of this type. All three possibly come from the records of the strategus Leonides, but they do

not all come from the same season of excavation: **4437** has an inventory number with the element 4B, denoting the fourth season, while **3105** has the element 3B, for the third; the inventory number of **1405** is lost. They are not all of the same date since **1405** mentions the current third year, which must be that of the reign of Maximinus and Maximus, i.e. 236/7, in order to fit into Leonides' term of office, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 98, while **3105** has the remains of a date clause of Severus Alexander which sets it between the beginning of Leonides' strategate in 228 or 229 and the spring of 235, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 108. (This damaged passage of **3105** has been checked again and the reading confirmed, i.e. it has *Αὐρηλίῳ* *Ἔουρή* [*ρο*] [*Ἀλεξάνδρο*]*ν* (30), and not any version of *Γαῖου* *Ἰουλίῳ* *Οὐρήρου* *Μαξιμίνου*.) There are no parallel documents outside the period of Leonides' service. We do not know whether there was a significant increase in the number of cases of *cessio bonorum* at this date or whether the phenomenon is typical of the whole period.

Only the beginning of the petition survives. The writing runs along the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet join running vertically c. 5 cm from the left edge. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

θεοῖ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Καπίτων Ἐρμοφάντου.  
εἰς}, ὡς φήζ, {ει} διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς λειτουργίας παρεχώρη-  
σας τῶν σεαυτοῦ, εὐλογό[ν] ἐστι]ν μὴ τῷ ταμείῳ ἡμῶν]  
τὴν παραχώρησιν [γενέε]σθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ εἰς τῆ]ν  
5 λιτ[ο]υργίας ἐ[λο]μέν[ω, δὲ ἀναλ]α[β]ῶν σου τὰ ὑπάρχο[ν]-  
τα τὸ τίμημά σου τὸ πολιτικόν] παρέξι καὶ τὴν λει-  
τουργίαν ἄποπ[ληρώσει. τὸ γάρ] ταμίον ἡμῶν τῶν]  
τοιοῦ[τ]ῶ[ν] παρ[α]χωρήσεων οὐκ [έ]φίεται, οὐδὲ  
ἠ ἐπιτ[ι]μ[ί]α σου βλαβήσεται οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ σώ-  
10 μα σου] ὑ[β]ρισθήσεται. προετέθη ἡ (ἔτους) Μεχείρ ἐν  
Ἀλεξάνδ(ρεία).

*Αὐρηλίῳ* *Λεωνίδῃ* *στρατηγῷ* *Ὁξύρυγχείτου*  
*παρὰ* *Αὐρηλίου* *Ἡρακλείδου* *Πετρωνί(σου) μητροῦ*  
*Πλουτάρχης* *ἀπὸ* *κόμης* *Ταλαῶ*. *ἀντονομα-*  
*στεῖς* *παρὰ* *δύναμιν* *ὑπὸ* [ ] *Ὦρου* *Ὦρου* *μητροῦ*  
15 *Καλαμίνης* *εἰς* *πρακ[το]ρεῖαν* *ἀργυρικῶν* *κω-*  
*μητικῶν* *λημμ[άτων]* *τῆς* *αὐτῆς* *Ταλαῶ*  
*τόπων* [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ]  
*ωνη*[ . . . . . ] *διὰ* *σοῦ*  
c. 20 letters ] *διὰ* *σοῦ*  
c. 25 letters ] . . [



2 I. εἰ, ὡς φήσ, διὰ κτλ. 3 ἡμῶν 4 I. εἰ; τῆ 5 I. λειτουργίας; υπαρχῶν 6 I. παρέχει  
7 I. ταμείου; τῶν 10 ἡς, ἀλεξανδρ 11 I. Ὁξυρρυχίτου 13-14 I. ἀντονομαθεία

'The deified Severus and Antoninus to Capito son of Hermophantus, "If, as you claim, you ceded your property because of the burden of the liturgy, it stands to reason that the cession is not made to our treasury but to the person who nominated you to the liturgy, who, having taken possession of your property, will hold in readiness (the equivalent of) your civil property qualification(?) and fulfil the duties of the liturgy, for our treasury does not desire such cessations, nor will your citizenship be injured nor will you be subjected to corporal punishment." Posted in public in the 8th year, Mecheir, in Alexandria.'

'To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Heracleides son of Petronius(?) mother Plutarche from the village of Talao. Having been nominated by Horus son of Horus mother Calamine to succeed him as *practor* of money taxes of the revenue from villagers of the district of the same Talao, which is beyond my means, ... through you ...'

1 θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. This is the short posthumous formula, cf. the doublets BGU I 267 and P. Strassb. I 22 (Oliver, op. cit. No. 223A and B), the first with a long formula (similar to 4435 17-18), the second the same as here.

2 εἰ(ε), ὡς φήσ (I. φήσ), {εἰ}. This seems a plausible way of understanding the writing, which is very clear. Possibly the clerk thought that he was writing a version of ἵσως φήσεται or φησεί. Phrases like *ut dicis/adlegas/adseueras/propolis* are frequently found in imperial rescripts, although they are not especially characteristic of the period 194-202, see A.M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 147-156 s.vv., 56-9. For zeta in place of sigma see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 120-124, esp. 123 § 2a.

Just possibly we should select the epsilon iota before βάρου to represent *et* and mark what precedes with a *σας*, *εκουσθη*†. This could possibly represent some expression meant to accompany the name or patronymic of the addressee.

We can now imagine restorations for the beginnings of the parallel documents:

1405	[θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Καπίτωνι [Ἐρμωφάντου. εἰ, ὡς φήσ, διὰ τὸ βάρου τῆς λειτουργίας] παρεχώρησας τῶν σεαυτοῦ] εὐδὴλόν ἐστιν μὴ τῷ κτλ.	32 27 25 26
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3105	[θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνου Καπίτωνι Ἐρ- μωφάντου. εἰ, ὡς φήσ, διὰ τὸ βάρου τῆς λειτουργ- ίας] παρε[χ]χώρησας [τῶν] εἰσαυτοῦ εἰ[β]η[λ]όν ἐ[σ]τιν μὴ τῷ ταμείῳ ἡμῶν τῆν [παρα]χώ- ρησεν γενέσθαι κτλ.	34 35 32 28
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3 εὐλογο[ν]. For this variant see 4435 5 n. Both the parallels have εὐδὴλόν ἐστιν, with more or less certainty, see above and 4435 5 n.

4 *ca* (= *ce*). 3105 has *ce* after ἐλομένω, which now seems inevitable, see next note. 1405 seems not to have had *ce* at all, although Oliver, op. cit. p. 460, printed [*ce* ἐλο]μένω.

5 ξ[λο]μένω. This must be the intended word. Dr Rea writes: 'In 1405 I found some difficulty in recognizing ἐλο/μένω, mainly in the ending, see 3105 3 n., where I suggested that the ending was miswritten as -ou. This still seems a possibility, but now I am ready to accept omicron at the end of line 3, although alpha might also be a possibility, see 1204 25, with BL I 333, VII 136'.

δς ἀναλ[α]β[ε]ῶν σου. 3105 omitted these words. The spacing makes it almost certain that *ce* was not repeated here before them and after ξ[λο]μένω, which is where it appears in 3105.

τὸ τμήμα σου τὸ πολιτικόν]. This phrase is guaranteed by 3105, being much damaged in 1405. No advance seems to have been made in the understanding of τμήμα since 3105 4 n., but Dr Rea now prefers to follow the second half of his note and translate 'will hold in readiness (the equivalent of) your civil property qualification'.

8-9 οὐδὲ ἡ ἐπιτιμ[ι]α [σου] βλαβήσεται. 1405 has ἡ δὲ ἐπιτεμ[ι]α σου ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, and 3105 agrees, except that it has *co* instead of *cou*.

10 [[*cou*]]. This deleted word does not occur in either of the parallels.

10-11 προετέθη ἡ (ἐτους) Μεχειρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εία). 3105 also has Mecheir; the month given in 1405 is Pharmuthi. A similar conflict of dates occurs between the doublets BGU I 267 (Tybi) and P. Strassb. I 22 (Pharmuthi). Oliver, op. cit. p. 448, explains the dates as being that of local publication, whatever that may mean, and of publication at Alexandria, although he sees that they are both given as for Alexandria. N. Lewis, *RIDA* 25 (1978) 272-3, n. 44, believes that in each case one of the dates must be mistaken. P. Strassb. 22 has a posthumous imperial formula, as here, and he therefore favours Tybi, the month given by BGU 267 which has a long imperial formula, over Pharmuthi. In our case 1405 of 236/7 is later than 3105 of 228-235, see introd. para. 2, while 4437 is datable only to the term of Leonides, 228 or 229 to 236/7, and we cannot say whether it is later or earlier than the others. There is the possibility that 1405 is the latest of the trio and open to the same argument, but more evidence is needed.

All the parallels have the date after προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εία), but LII 3018 10, although fragmentary, seems to allow the possibility that the date could come first: π[ροετέθη] πρὸ ἐπτά εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρι[ου], contrast line 5.

10 For Leonides see introd. para. 2.

12 Περωνι(κού). Something has been omitted; Περωνι(αυού) is also possible.

15 Καλαμίνης. Καλαμίνη is known as a village name, see A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iii. 1 p. 53, but new as a personal name. Although lambda seems a better reading of the third letter, it may be possible that it is a tau in view of the masculine name Καταμίνης, but this in turn is known only from XVI 1890 of AD 508.

15-16 On the office see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 44-5.

16-17 τῆς ἀσπ[η]ς Ταλαῶ τ[ό]που. Talao is a well attested and therefore probably a large village of the Lower toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 193-4, which has been identified with Tala, see F. Gomaa *et al.*, *Beihfte des Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Reihe B, Nr. 69, p. 90.

17 ἀντέχειν. Cf. 3105 19, but the wording is not otherwise parallel. Before ἀντέχειν it does not seem possible to read δύναμαι. μ[ε] might be possible, but the trace before that is strangely high; the shape looks like the loop of rho, but the position suggests beta or xi and no letter seems perfectly suitable. After ἀντέχειν the traces look odd and cramped, but they might represent οὐχ ὧς.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4438. APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION OF A HOUSE

48 5B.25/G(3)a 14 × 26 cm 28 September-27 October 252(?)

The document is a copy of an application for the registration of a house, probably of AD 252. Two brothers inherited the house from their unnamed mother, who had bought it shortly before her death. The father of the brothers, who were presumably minors, sent the application on their behalf to the strategus, who was asked to instruct the keepers of the property register to make the appropriate entry.

Five points are of interest in this otherwise standard text:

1. With near certainty it dates Aurelius Agathus Daemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the year 252.

2. Line 5 provides an otherwise unattested short titulare for the emperor Decius, which seems to reflect his *damnatio memoriae*.

3. The text mentions several members of a well known family, one of whom was previously unknown.

4. The house is described by the unattested adjective *τριπυργιαία*.

5. This copy of the official document was made on the back of a piece cut from a roll containing a private wine account of about forty-five years (if not more) earlier.

The writing runs across the fibres and looks like a private copy of an official document, perhaps made before the original was sent to the strategus. The whole text, including the subscription, was written by a single writer, which confirms that this is not an original but a copy, a conclusion supported by the short form of the date clause at the foot.

The other side (4436) is written parallel with the fibres, and looks like the recto of the roll, although there is no sheet join to prove it. Wine from the produce of regnal years 15 and 16 is mentioned. To find such regnal years before the middle of the third century it is necessary to go back at least to the reign of Septimius Severus and his sons, that is to 206/7 and 207/8. Longlasting vintage wines being unknown in the papyri, the indication is that the copy of the application for registration was written on the verso about forty-five years (if not more) after the account was compiled. Cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* 40 (1954) 102-6, who concluded that the secondary use of an official papyrus document usually occurred within twenty-five years of the first, although he produced examples of much longer intervals, cf. id. *BASP* 15 (1978) 163-9. LXIII 4356 is an example of secondary use at least twenty-two years after the first.

Αὐρηλίω Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμο[νι στ]ρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξυρρυχείτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεών[ος] τοῦ καὶ Κάστορος καὶ Διο(ς)-  
 κουρίδου ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπολλοφάνου ἐξη(γητ-) βουλ(ευτοῦ)  
 τῆς Ὀξυρρυχειτῶν πόλεως. καθ' (ἰ)διόγραφον πράσι  
 5 τῷ. (ἔτει) Μεσσίου Χοίακ ἠγόρασεν περιού-  
 σα{ν} ἢ μήτηρ ἡμῶν καὶ μετῆλλαχῆα  
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν μόνους τοῖς δυὶ υἱοῖς κληρο-  
 νόμοις παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι-  
 ονυσοθέωνος γυμ(νασιαρχ-) βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς Ὀξυρρυχει-  
 10 τῶν πόλεως υἱοῦ Σεπτιμ(ί)ου Ἐπιμάχου καὶ ὡς  
 ἐχρημάτισεν εὐθηνιαρχήσαντος τῆ[ς] λαμ-  
 προ[τ]άτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων  
 ἐπ' ἀμόδου Δρόμου Γυμνασίου οἰκίαν  
 15 τριπυργιαίαν καὶ αἶθριον, ὑφ' ἣν κατὰγει[ο]ν,  
 καὶ ἀλλὰς δύο καὶ τὰ τούτων χρηστῆρια  
 πάντα σὺν ἑἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις, ἐδδοκού-  
 σης τῆς τούτου ἡμογενείας ἀδελφῆς  
 Αὐρηλίας Κασιανῆς τῆς καὶ Ἡραΐδος, ὡς (ἦ)  
 ἰδιόγ[ρ]αφος πράσις περιέχει, {τ}ῆς καὶ δη-

20 μοσιωθείας [[διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου]] ἐξ εἰδο-  
 κήσεως τὸν ἀναπεμφέντα πρὸς τοὺς  
 αὐτόθι τῶν ἐκτέσεων βιβλιοφύλ(ακας) χρημα-  
 τισμὸν ὑποκολλήσαντες ἐπὶ τῶνδε τῶν  
 βιβλιδίων ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλῖδια ἀξιοῦντες  
 25 ἐπισταλῆναι τοῖς βιβλιοφύλ(αξι) τῆν δέουσαν  
 παράθεσιν ποιῆσθαι ὡς πρόκειται τοῖς πα-  
 ρ' αὐτοῖς διαστρώμασι ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς] ἡμῶν {α}ς  
 ἀσφαλείας. (ἔτους) γ Φαῶφι. (vac.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Θεών δ καὶ Κάτωρ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης  
 30 δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλοφά-  
 νου ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 στ]ρ; 1. Ὀξυρρυχείτου 3, ἐξηθου<sup>λ</sup> 4 1. Ὀξυρρυχειτῶν; καθ' ἰδιογραφον. 1. κατ' ἰδιόγραφον  
 5 L // 7 1. ἡμῶν 9 γυμ)βου<sup>λ</sup> 9-10 1. Ὀξυρρυχειτῶν 16 ἑ' ἰσοδοῖς 19 ἰδιογ[ρ]αφος  
 19-20 1. δημοσιωθείας 22 1. ἐκτέσεων; βιβλιοφύ<sup>λ</sup> 25 βιβλιοφύ<sup>λ</sup> 28 L γ// 29 1.  
 Αὐρηλίω 31 1. ἐπιδεδώκαμεν

'To Aurelius Agathus Daemon, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Theon alias Castor and Aurelius Dioscurides, both sons of Apollophanes (former?) exegetes, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. By an autograph deed of sale dated in the 1st (?) year of Messius, in Choeac, our mother, who died leaving us her two sons as her only heirs, in her lifetime bought from Aurelius Sarapion alias Dionysiotheon, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Septimius Epimachus and however he was styled, former eutheniarch of the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, a house in the Gymnasium Street district with three towers and a light-well, beneath which is a cellar, and two courtyards and all the fixtures of these with entrances and exits, with the consent of his sister by the same parents Aurelia Casiana alias Heras, as contained in the autograph deed of sale. Since this has been publicly registered by consent [through the bureau of the archidicastes], we subjoin to this application the certificate (of registration) which was sent up to the local registrars of property and we submit the application asking that instruction be sent to the registrars to make the proper annotation, as aforesaid, to the registers in their custody for the sake of our security. Year 3, Phaophi.

'We, Aurelius Theon alias Castor and (Aurelius) Dioscurides, through me the father Aurelius Apollphanes, submitted (the application).'

1 Aurelius Agathus Daemon is new and should be inserted in the list of G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* p. 100. P. Flor. I 83, assigned to the turn of the third and fourth centuries, is an undated proclamation of a strategus of the same name, cf. op. cit. 103. This item mentions a procurator

called Flavius Eudaemon, *uir egregius*, equally unknown. An attempt to identify him with a known Oxyrhynchite office holder of the late third century has been rightly rejected by A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 132 n. 6. It is possible that the *nomen* Flavius supports the dating offered in the edition and suggests that there were two strategi of this name, which is very common.

2-3 Neither the father nor either of the two sons is known from elsewhere.

4 καθ' (1)ιδύραφος (1. καθ' ιδύρα). For errors of aspiration see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 135-6. In this context ιδύραφος is a fiction, intended to bring the contract into the category of cheirographs, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri* ii 1-8 and n. 7. For the whole question see Wolff, op. cit. 106-113.

A list of contracts of sales of houses has been compiled by H. Machler, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (edd. G. Grimm et al. = *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 2) 128-134, with bibliography of earlier lists on 128 n. 36. A discussion of house-sales of the Roman period is given by J. Drath, *Untersuchungen zum Wohnseigentum auf Grund der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* 34-48.

5 τῶ (ἔτει) Μεσσειῶν Χοαῖα. Choeac is equivalent to 27 November-26 December. The year can only be 1 or 2, that is, the end of 249 or 250, see P. Oxy. LI p. 19, D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 112-14. The remains of the damaged figure might allow either alpha or beta. However, it may be argued that alpha is to be preferred, because by Choeac of year 2 Decius already had two colleagues, Herennius and Hostilianus, and it was usual to refer to them in a short form as the Decii, while Μεσσειῶν is clearly singular. The earliest Egyptian date-clause of the reign of Decius is in fact Choeac 1, year 1 = 27 November 249, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 112.

The key name of this emperor is Decius, whose fullest titulare is *Αἰτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Μέσσιος Κωνσταντίνος Τραϊανὸς Δέκιος Ἐδεβήκης Ἐπιτυχῆς Σεβαστός*. The suppression of the key name is the characteristic feature of Roman *damnatio memoriae*, whereby a decree of the senate ordered the deletion of the name from records and public monuments, see E. Van't Dack, *ANRW* II.1 875-6, id. *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen ... J. Straub* (edd. G. Wirth et al.) 324-334, cf. Hist. Aug. XVIII.2 *hoc nomen* [Antoninus] *ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est*, cf. XLIX 3475 29 and n. In the papyri the name of Geta is the most notoriously affected, because it was often struck out, see most lately P. Diog. 3.3-4 n., an interesting example, because although the name is struck out in this copy of the document, another copy, P. Diog. 4, simply leaves out Geta's titulare and refers to Caracalla alone.

In 4438 we may have a form of *damnatio* which attracts less notice, the suppression of the principal name in favour of one of the subordinate names, Messius instead of Decius. There is one other example for the reign, P. L. Bat. II (= P. Vindob. Bosw.) 3, a document of 277/8 which refers to a sale transacted, according to the first edition, ἐπι τοῦ [Τ]ι[ττ]ῶν Μεσσειῶν Φαρμοῦθι ζ' (15). Titus is not part of the titulare of Decius, see above: E. P. Wegener, working from the original, suggested therefore τοῦ [ ] (ἔτους) [θε]οῦ Μεσσειῶν (BL III p. 101). It is very likely and even necessary that the surviving trace should represent the sign for (ἔτους). After that restore probably the correct *praenomen*, hence ἐπι τοῦ [ ] (ἔτους) [Γα]ῖου Μεσσειῶν, Φαρμοῦθι ζ'.

We know that Decius and his son Herennius were entitled *domini* in Rome immediately after their deaths, cf. for example CIL VI 3743 = 31130 = 36760 (25 June 251), but there is evidence in the papyri and on Alexandrian coins which suggests that Trebonianus Gallus did not confirm the title. J. F. Gilliam, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* i pp. 305-311, has convincingly shown that their names were deliberately left out in P. Dura 97 = R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* No. 83, cf. Gilliam *TCS* 11 (1950) 189-209 and that just their consular years 3 and 1 are mentioned. The papyrus, which comes from a military archive, has entries for dates from 10 August 245 to 31 August 251. The date for 8-14 May 251 is given as III et I cas (16), which is used another six times.

Gilliam argued on the ground of this papyrus and inscriptions with erasures of Decius' name that the *damnatio memoriae* must have been introduced by Gallus. This can be confirmed by the evidence of coins from Alexandria. H. Mattingly, *Nam. Chron.* (ser. 6) 6 (1946) 36-46, observed that the deification of Decius and Herennius is not to be found on coins, which suggests that the deification in Rome was revoked so quickly that it did not get included in the official titulare on coins.

In succeeding reigns it seems that the *damnatio* of the Philippi was sometimes noted in the same way by suppression of the key name:

VIII 1119 (dated 16 August 253, 3 Gallus and Volusianus, Mesore 23):

22 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν, Ἀθῶρ λ (= 26 November 244)

24 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν, Μεχέρ γ (= 28 January 245)

28 (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν, Φαρμοῦθι ιγ (= 8 April 245).

(Contrast, however, IX 1209 of Pharmuthi (March/April) of either 2 or 3 Gallus and Volusianus, 252 or 253, where the restoration of τῶ δ (ἔτει) [Φιλίππ]ῶν is still convincing. A photograph shows that there is clearly not room for Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν at the beginning of line 12, and there is no other joint reign which could be suitable here. One might argue that since the memory of the Philippi was abolished by Decius, see below, Gallus, who abolished the Decii, might have reinstated the Philippi briefly before the titulare was stabilized as Marci Iulii, but this may be too complicated. The varying practices of individual writers probably account for the inconsistencies.)

XL 2913 iii (dated January/February 269):

3-4 [ ... τῶ x (ἔτει) Μάρκων] Ἰουλιῶν (uncertain year of the Philippi)

SB VI 9298 (date unknown, but headed ἀ(ντίγραφου)):

21-22 (ἔτους) ζ' Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν, Θῶθ ιη (= 15 September 249)

P. Grenf. II 69 (reign of Valerian and Gallienus):

16-17 ε' (ἔτους) Μάρκων Ἰουλιῶν, μηνί Ἀθῶρ (= 28 October-26 November 247).

For the erasure of the name of Philip in Egyptian temple inscriptions and its replacement by that of Decius see S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 118-121.

For those who do not accept that the use of these forms is connected with *damnatio memoriae*, ammunition is to be found in two mummy tickets which refer to the third year of Valerian and Gallienus as (ἔτους) γ // Πουπλῶν, see SB III 6007, B. Boyaval, *CRIPPEL* 3 (1975) 229-230, cf. J. R. Rea, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1190, with plate on 1129. These are contemporary references early in the reign and cannot be explained by *damnatio*. The probable reason is that the very cramped format of the wooden tablets enforced the shortest possible titulare.

8-12 παρά Αἰθηρηλίῳ Σεραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δι/ονορθέωνος γυμνασίου βουλ(εντοῦ) τῆς Ὁξυρυγχί/τῶν πόλεως υἱοῦ Σεπτίμ(ίου) Ἐπιμάχου καὶ ὡς/ἐχρημάτισεν εὐθηναρχήσαντος τῆ[ς] λαμπρο[τ]ιάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων. On this family see U. Wartenberg, *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo 1989: 1992) 15-22, cf. cad. *ZPE* 94 (1992) 128-134. An Oxyrhynchite Dionysiotheon who has appeared subsequently is datable to c. 183/4 and is likely to have been an older member of the same family, see PSI Congr. XXI 8,5 and n.

10 The use of υἱοῦ in this place conforms with the rule enunciated by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-282, esp. 278: 'Es scheint sich eine Regel herauszustellen, die folgendermassen zu formulieren wäre: Wenn in Urkunden römischer Zeit bei der Personenbeschreibung die Filiation mit Hilfe des Wortes υἱός (bzw. θυγάτηρ, s. weiter unten) angegeben wird, dann bedeutet das: Der Vater des (oder der) Betreffenden hatte eine angesehene soziale Stellung inne, in der Regel, weil er ein munizipales oder sonstiges Amt bekleidete oder bekleidet hatte'.

Although this is a well attested usage, worth bearing in mind, it is perhaps too dogmatic to call it a rule, see e.g. BGU XIII 2237.4-9 [τ]αρά Τεσενούφους υἱοῦ Τετ[ε] / νουόφους πρεσβυτέρου ἐπικαλοῦμι[ένου] / Σεΐφανος καὶ Πακώσεως υἱοῦ / [Τ]εσενούφους νεωτέρου ἐπικαλοῦμι[ένου] / [Κ]ιαλίητος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κώμης / [C]οκνο(παίου) Νήσου, P. Mil. Vogl. I 28 iii 78 Ἀθῶρ κη - Ὀν[ι]ῶφρι υἱὸς Ἀκάριος (ἀρτάβαι) δ, P. Brux. I 19.14 Παστῶν υἱὸς(ε) Δι[ο]κό[ρο]υ δοῦλ(ου), O. Bodl. II 1709.2-3 μέτρων Στοσιτή[ε]ως υἱὸς Πούσιος ἀπὸ Τεροῦ ( ) πυροῦ κτλ., P. Berl. Frisk 3 (= SB V 7517).2 παρά Στοσιτή[ε]ως υἱοῦ C[α]τύρου Στοσιτή[ε]ως γεωργ(ου).

In P. Oslo III 144 there are numerous examples, e.g. 8-9 Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς [C]αρρῶν / τοῦ βαφέως [ ], cf. 14, 19, 28, 30 (conforming with the rule), 34, 38, 39, 40. The editor commented on this as the 'characteristic feature of this list', with reference to E. Maysner, *Grammatik* II.2 p. 9, n. 3. 'Nicht selten wird, teils im Interesse der Klarheit, namentlich bei Häufung von Genitiven, teils in gehobenem, feierlichem Ton, das Kinderverhältnis durch υἱός und θυγάτηρ, sogar mit eigenem Relativsatz, ausgedrückt'. He then lists a number of examples to support his interpretation.

I cannot present a coherent interpretation of the use of θυγάτηρ and υἱός, but I would like to suggest that there was no strict pattern to cover all cases.

Perhaps the same caution should be applied to Hagedorn's rule, which he uses to correct a long series of passages: 'Ein Punkt sei *expressis verbis* hervorgehoben: Ich habe kein einziges Beispiel dafür gefunden, dass in Fällen, wo der Name des Sohnes in einem anderen Casus als dem Genitiv steht, ein voll ausgeschriebener Titel, der auf den durch das Wort υἱός eingeführt Namen des Vaters folgt, im Casus mit dem Namen des Sohnes übereinstimmt. Ich glaube dadurch hinreichend sicher nachgewiesen zu haben, dass die Titel in

derartigen Verbindungen immer auf den Vater zu beziehen sind, ...' (p. 279). So far I have found only one example which breaks this rule; P. Mich. XI 623, an official letter of the late second century (BL VII 115), is addressed 'Ἡρώδη υἱῷ Ἀπίωνος [τῷ] ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν[υ] τῆς αἰ(τῆς) πόλ(εως) τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν. The editor, J. C. Shelton, describes the document as 'addressed to the official ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν of an Egyptian metropolis' (introd. p. 93). The content justifies his restoration of [τῷ], the crucial word for our purpose. The case may differ from the ones that Hagedorn had in mind, γυμνασιάρχ-, ἐξηγητ- etc., but this rule too may be a little too absolute and one should remember this when considering his emendations (pp. 280–282).

11–12 εὐθνημαρξήσαντος τῆ[ς] λαμπρο[τ]άτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων. Cf. N. Lewis, *The Compsulsoy Sentences* 32–3, P. Diog. p. 113 5 n.

13–14 οἰκίαν τριπυργίαν. The house described appears to be a fairly large town house. Though τριπυργία/-ια as an adjective for a house had not occurred before in any other text, the οἰκία διπυργία is common, see most lately G. Husson, *OIKIA* 251–2, with bibliography. P. Strassb. II 110 of c. 180 BC, cf. P. Strasb. IX 803 introd., is a receipt for sales-tax on 'the 2nd storey of the 3rd tower and the associated courtyard, in which there are structures(?), (τέλος) πύργου γ' στῆγης β' και τὴν προσοῦσαν αἰθρῶν (l. τῆς προσοῦσης αἰθρῆς), εἰς τὴν οἰκίματα. On the ambiguity of οἰκίματα see Husson pp. 183–6, but structures in the courtyard seem more likely to be meant in this context than rooms in the tower second storey. F. Preisigke, 'Die Begriffe ΠΥΡΓΟΣ und ΣΤΕΓΗ bei der Hausanlage', *Hermes* 54 (1919) 423–432, has already observed 'Nur hätten wir hier keine οἰκία διπυργία, sondern eine οἰκία τριπυργία'. Note, however, that no house is mentioned in the Strasbourg papyrus, and these might be independent towers of some kind. In spite of the fairly large bibliography the nature of towers associated with houses is not well understood. The suggestion that they indicate a degree of luxury, see Husson 252, citing M. Nowicka, *Archologia Polona* 14 (1973) 175–8, would fit well with the status of the Alexandrian magistrate Septimius Epimachus, father of the sellers, and with that of the Oxyrhynchite exegetes Apollonophanes, father of the buyers.

14 αἰθρῶν. Cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 29–36.

ὄψ' ἦν κατάγει[ο]ν. Husson points out that the construction with ὄψ' ἦν is found only in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, see p. 132 n. 1 for examples. ἦν refers, of course, to οἰκίαν and not to αἰθρῶν. This slight awkwardness indicates how these stereotyped descriptions are put together from elements of standard terminology. The ground plan of the house in XXIV 2406 indicates a θύρα καταγ(είου), which implies that there were stairs leading to the cellar, cf. H. Machler, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (edd. G. Grimm et al. = *Aegyptiaca Tennesiensia* 2) 136–7; Husson, *OIKIA* 45–54.

15 και ἀλλὰ δύο. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 53.

χρηστήρια. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 291–3.

16 \*εἰσόδοι και ἐξόδοι. Cf. Husson, *OIKIA* 65–72.

16–18 εὐδοκόντες ... Κασιανῆς. Cf. 20–21. The seller's sister had to give her consent. This was a measure of protection for her interest in the family property.

19–28 A private cheirograph could be given a higher authority by the process of δημοσίωσις, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 129–132. This was done by incorporation of the text of the agreement into the records of the Nanaeum and the Library of Hadrian in Alexandria, effected through the archidicastes, who was in charge of the bureau called the καταλογεῖον. A certificated record of the registration, called the (δημόσιος) χρηματισμός, was produced by the department of the καταλογεῖον called the διαλογή and directed to the keepers of the property registers in the nome capital. The applicants attached a copy of the χρηματισμός to their application and ask the strategus to instruct the keepers of the property registers to make the appropriate entry in their records.

20 [διὰ τοῦ καταλογεῖου]. Lines have been drawn so as to enclose the whole phrase. This should indicate that it is intended to be deleted, see LSJ s.v. περιγράφω III. In these contexts the διαλογή is sometimes mentioned instead, e.g. XLVII 3365 B1, cf. 5, B2, but no substitution has been made here. According to Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 249–250 n. 127, the διαλογή was an office (Geschäftsstelle) within the καταλογεῖον which prepared the χρηματισμός.

21–3 τὸν ἀναπεμφθέντα ... χρηματισμόν. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 244–245 n. 102, takes this phrase as an indication that the transmission of the certificate of registration had to be undertaken by the applicants themselves.

21–2 πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκτῆσεων βιβλιοφύλα(κακας). The purpose of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐκτῆσεων was to keep an up-to-date record of property, that is, real estate and slaves. It was organized by registers, διαστρώματα, in which each section (ὄνομα) had the name of the owner as a heading, see Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 226–7, 233–4, 26 παράθεον. See Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 238–245.

27 8 ἰπέρ τῆ[ς] ἡμῶν {αε} ἀεφαλείας. This phrase does not appear in the parallel documents.

28 (ἔτους) γ Φαώφι. The original document, cf. 29 31 n., would no doubt have had a full date clause at this point.

Decius, cf. 5 n., did not have a third year. The next available third year is 3 Gallus and Volusianus, 252/3, and this is the most likely one. It is possible, but much less likely, that the application for registration might have been put off till 3 Valerian and Gallienus, 255/6, and hardly conceivable that it could have waited till 3 Claudius, 270/271.

29–31 The subscription is written in the same hand as the body of the text. This, like its appearance on the back of a used piece of papyrus, indicates that our document is not the original but a copy. Even if Apollonophanes had been illiterate, an amanuensis would have signed on his behalf, see H. C. Youtie, 'Eπογογραφείας: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201–222 = *Scripturanculae Postiores* i 179–199, so that the original would have had two different hands.

The drafting is awkward. For two people we would expect Αἰρήλιοι rather than Αἰρήλιος, cf. 2 Αἰρήλιων, and strict grammar would require a plural verb, ἐπιδεδώκαμεν instead of ἐπιδέδωκα.

U. WARTENBERG

#### 4439. LOAN OF BARLEY

32 4B.7/M(3–4)c

8.5 × 23.5 cm

258/9

This contract of loan has an unusual arrangement of sentences, which in their wording and content are otherwise standard. The lender, Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon, is a well-known citizen of Oxyrhynchus, although in other evidence he is called simply Septimius Eudaemon: see 4–6 n.

In the lower right hand margin a few letters survive from the line beginnings of a second column, in the same hand, level with i 28–31. In all probability the second copy (cf. i 24) was written immediately to the right on the same sheet of papyrus.

The writing is along the fibres; the back is blank.

Col. i

Αἰρήλιοι ὦρος Παῖσιος μητρὸς  
Τεχῶσιος καὶ Ἀσκληῶς Ἀπολλων-  
νίου μητρὸς Τσαφύγχιος ἀμφ[ό-]  
τεροι ἀπὸ κώμης Σεπέπτα Σεπ[τι-]  
5 μίω Αἰρήλιω Εὐδαίμονει Σερήν[ου]  
γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλευτοῦ τῆς [Ῥόξυ-]  
ρυγχεϊτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.  
ἀπέσχομεν παρὰ σοῦ κρη[ί]θης ἀ[ρτά-]  
6 βασ πέντε γενήματος τοῦ διε[λ]-  
10 θόντος ἔτοϋ<ς, ἄ<ς>περ ἀποδώσομέν  
κοι σὺν διαφόροις ἐκ τρίτου ἐντ[ὸς]  
τριακάδος Παῖνι τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος  
ς (ἔτους) ἐφ' ἄλλω τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης  
Σεπέπτα νέαν καθαρὰν ἄβολον

15 ἄβωλον κεκοσκι[νευ]μένην καὶ  
καλῶς πεπατημ[ένη]ν μέτρον  
δεκάτω ψ̄ καὶ παρ[ειλή]φαιμεν τῶ(ν)  
παρὰ σοῦ μετροῦ [ντ]ων ἐν δι-  
20 αφόροις. ἐ' ἂ ν δὲ μὴ ἀ[πο]δώσομεν  
σοι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ [προκει]μένῃς  
πρ[ο]θεσ[μίας, ἐκτείομεν] σοι μεθ' ἡ-  
μιολίας [ . . . . . ] ντος  
χρόνου. κύριον τὸ [χει]ρόγραφον  
25 δις δὲ γραφέν π[α]νταχῆ ἐπι-  
φερόμενον καὶ πα[ντ]ί τῶ ὑπὲρ  
σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι [γ]υνομένης  
σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τῆς ἡμ[ών]  
ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύων ἔντων [εἰς]  
30 ἕκτερον καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμ[ών]  
αἰρή καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
ἡμῶν πάντων καὶ ἐπερω-  
τηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀμολογή-  
καμεν. [(ἔτους) 5] // (vac.)  
[Αὐτοκρατόρων Καὶ] ἄρων  
35 [Πουπλίου Λικωνίου] Οὐαλερι[ανοῦ]  
[καὶ Πουπλίου Λικωνίου Οὐ]αλε[ριανοῦ]  
[Γαλλιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγ]ίσ[των]  
[Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπ]λ[ίου]  
[Λικωνίου Κορνηλίου Καλω]νί[ου]  
40 [Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστ]α[τ]οῦ

Col. ii (opposite i 28–31)

. . . [ . . . ]  
ο . [ . . . ]  
.. [ . . . ]  
τ . [ . . . ]  
.. [ . . . ]

5 l. Εὐδαίμων 6 l. βουλευτῆ 6–7 l. Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν 12 παῖνι 13 55 17 τω  
19 l. ἀποδώσομεν 25 ὑπὲρ 28 l. ἀλληλεγγύων 30 ὑπαρχόντων

‘Aurelius Horus son of Paesis, his mother being Techosis, and Aurelius Asclas son of Apollonius, his mother being Taaphynchis, both from the village of Seneptra, to Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon son of Serenus, gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.

‘We received from you five artabas of barley of the crop of the past year which we shall return to you with interest at the rate of one third on or before the thirtieth of Payni of the present 6th year at the threshing floor of the same village of Seneptra (in barley that is) new, clean, free of fraud and earth, sieved and well trodden, by the measure of one tenth (of an artaba) by which we also received them, your representatives measuring them, along with the interest. If we do not return (them) to you within the aforesaid term, we shall pay (them) out to you with an increase of one half plus interest(?) on the excess(?) time. The cheirograph, written in two copies, is binding to be presented in evidence in any place and for any person who presents it in evidence on your behalf, with the grant to you of the right of exaction both from us under mutual guarantee for payment and from whichever of us you may choose and from all our possessions, and on being asked the formal question by you we gave our assent.

‘Year 6 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices, and Publius Licinius Cornelius Salominus Gallienus, nobilissimus [Caesar, Augusti, (month, day)].’

Col. i

4–6 Septimius Eudaemon is a well-known personality from Oxyrhynchus around the middle of the third century. His family has been briefly discussed by H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 92 (cf. L 3596–7). LI 3612 concerns the same family, as may also XIV 1649.

The unusual form of his name here, Septimius Aurelius Eudaemon, is notable. His father’s name, usually Septimius Serenus, is written as Aurelius Septimius Serenus in XLVII 3365 4 (=P. Coll. Yout. I 65). A parallel for the inverse combination is provided by the name of the Oxyrhynchite prytanis L. Septimius Aurelius Sarapion al. Apollinarius (VI 890).

19–20 ἐ' ἂ ν δὲ μὴ ἀ[πο]δώσομεν σοι. We expect the subjunctive, of course. For the form in the papyrus, corrected to ἀποδώσομεν, as the subjunctive of the rare sigmatic aorist (form ἔδωκα) cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II pp. 386–7.

22–23 [κα]ὶ τοῦ ἡπ[ερ]εσόντος χρόνου? Understand διάφορον before τῶν? Cf. VII 1040 20–26 ἐ[ὰν] δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ ἐγραψάμε[θα] τὰς προκειμένας τοῦ πυροῦ ἐν διαφόρ[οι]σιν ἀρτάβας ἐξ, ταῦτα(ς) σοὶ ἐκτελε[σ]αι σοὶ μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ διάφορον [δ]ιάφορον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου [ἡμ]ίως ἐξ ἡμιολίας.

Here in 1040 ταῦτα(ς) refers to the original loan amount (4 artabas) plus the usual 50% interest, to the total of which a 50% penalty surcharge is instantly to be added (making 9 artabas) for failing to meet the repayment date, plus further charges for the overtime. XLVII 3351 appears to attest a loan (of money) where the 50% penalty is levied on the sum loaned only, but the κεφάλαιον on which the 50% is levied may already include unspecified interest. In 4439, although strictly the object of the verbs in 19 and 21 should be the quantity meant by ἕ(ς)περ, 10, i.e. the original five artabas of the loan, probably what was meant was a 50% surcharge on the five artabas plus the one-third interest, a neat ten artabas, in effect 100% interest (plus the overtime charges). Cf. N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 139.

23 ff. κύριον τὸ [χει]ρόγραφον δις δὲ γραφέν etc. The *kuria*-clause occurs unexpectedly at this point, after

which the contract's normal clause of liabilities is added. Then comes the *stipulatio*, which normally follows the *κυρία*-clause. The regular order would be *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖμεν ... ἐκτείομεν ... γνωμένῃς σοι τῆς πράξεως ... κυρία*-clause ... *stipulatio* ... date. In 4439 the *κυρία*-clause interrupts the actual contract.

31 The usual *καθῆπερ ἐκ δέου* is missing. Cf. the irregular clause order outlined in the preceding note.

33 The detached placing of the year number (indicated by the two diagonal strokes) is surprising. There is a red ink stain in the unwritten area that follows.

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#### 4440. LIST OF FISHERMEN

47 5B.47/B(1)a

25 × 31 cm

First century

This large sheet of papyrus has a single column with a list of *ἱεροαγηνῆται*, 'sacred net-fishermen', who work in the service of the temple of Athena Thooris in Oxyrhynchus. The names are listed under districts of the city.

Seven districts are listed, and there are two men from each of four of them and one man from each of the three others. Most of the districts are well known, but two have been less well attested, *ῥύμη* *Ἵωννόφριος* (11) and *ἀναμφοδάρχων* (14). At present we can only speculate whether there is any connection between all the districts mentioned in the list and the actual locality of the Thoeireion, and whether the fishermen were selected because they lived in a particular *ἔμφοδον* which was in the vicinity of the temple.

The context in which we should see this text is not entirely clear. Fishing could be an important factor in temple economies, and naturally the temple administration here would have had an interest in keeping a record of the fishermen employed; thus the list may have been written and kept in the temple office. However, a second possibility may be considered. Under Roman rule, the Egyptian temples came under tighter control than they had been in the Ptolemaic period. In BGU IV 1199 (4 BC) the prefect C. Turranus orders the registration of temple personnel, divided into three groups: *ἱερείς* or priests of the first rank, *παστοφόροι* or priests of a lower rank, and *ἄλλοι*. The classification into these groups can be found in other documents: cf. H.-B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* 25–6. Fishermen would presumably belong to the third category. Surviving temple declarations are often called *γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ* or similar; cf. XLIX 3473 introd., with a table of temple declarations and literature on the subject, in particular E. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 181–281. John Whitehouse has given a detailed analysis of other documents which show how the priests were required to submit a *λόγος* or *συνημίσις* of temple property and income to the state: *CE* 53 (1978) 321–8 and 54 (1979) 143–8, and *Journ. Rel. Hist.* 11 (1980) 218–26. So far, our evidence regarding temple declarations is not sufficient to allow a distinction between a *λόγος*, the annually submitted *γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ*, and other terms such as *γραφή ἀναθημάτων*; cf. the list in 3473. However, 4440 could well be the sort of document from which such declarations could have been compiled.

There is a kollesis in the left margin, overlapping unusually right over left. The back is blank.

ἀναγραφὴ ἱεροαγηνῆτων Ἀθηναῖς Θεήριδος  
θεᾶς μεγίστης. Δρόμ(ου) Γυμνασίου(ν).

Πλουτίων Ἰέρακος τοῦ Θέωνος  
μητ(ρὸς) Σαραπούτος.

Ἵωννόφρις ἀδελφὸς μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς).  
Δρόμ(ου) Θεήριδος.

Ταρούλλας Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ταρούλλου  
μητ(ρὸς) Σαραεῦτος.

Διονύς[ι] Ἀμόιτος τοῦ Ταρούλλ[ου]  
μητ(ρὸς) Θερμίτος.

ῥύμη *Ἵωννόφριος*.  
Θεωνᾶς Πανσειρίωνος τοῦ  
Θέωνος μητ(ρὸς) Θερμου[

ἀναμφοδάρχων.

Διδύμος Θέωνος τοῦ Διδύμου(ν)  
μητ(ρὸς) Ἡράτος.

Σαραπίων ἀδελφὸς μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτῆς.

Κρητικ(οῦ).

Σαρᾶς Ἡρακλάτος τοῦ Σαρᾶτος μ[ητ(ρὸς)]  
Συνθώνιος.

Παταλῖς ἀδελφὸς μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ[ῆς].  
Πλατείας.

Διονύσιος Διονυσίου(ν) τοῦ Διονυσίου(ν) μητ(ρὸς) [

Λυκίου(ν) Παρεμβολ(ῆς).

Δωρᾶς Σαραπάτος τοῦ Θεέωνος μητ(ρὸς) Δημ[

1	ἱεροαγηνῆτων	2	δρο <sup>μ</sup> γυμνασίου	3	Ἰέρακος	4	μητ	5	μητ, αυτ	6	δρο <sup>μ</sup>		
8	μητ	10	μητ	13	μητ	14	ἱεροαγηνῆτων	15	διδύμ <sup>ω</sup>	16	μητ	17	αδελφ
	μητ	18	κρητικ	21	μητ	23	διονυσι, διου <sup>μ</sup> μητ	24	λυκίω παρεμβολ	25	θεων <sup>ω</sup> μητ		

\*List of sacred net-fishermen of Athena Thooris, most great goddess. Quarter of the Gymnasium avenue:  
Plutius son of Hierax, grandson of Theon, his mother being Sarapus.  
Onnophris his brother, his mother being the same.

Quarter of the avenue of Theoris:

Tarullas son of Ptolemaeus, grandson of Tarullas, his mother being Saraeus.

Dionys son of Amois, grandson of Tarullas, his mother being Thermis.

Quarter of the street of Onnophris:

Theonas son of Pausirion, grandson of Theon, his mother being Thermu-

Anamphodarch-quarter:

Didymus son of Theon, grandson of Didymus, his mother being Heras.

Sarapion his brother, his mother being the same.

Cretan quarter:

Saras son of Heraclias, grandson of Saras, his mother being Sinthonis.

Patalis his brother, his mother being the same.

Quarter of the Square:

Dionysius son of Dionysius, grandson of Dionysius, his mother ...

Quarter of the Lycians' Camp:

Doras son of Sarapas, grandson of Theon, his mother being Dem-<sup>1</sup>

1 ἀναγράφη. See H. W. Kraus, *Αναγραφή und αναγράφειν im Ägypten der Ptolemäer und Römer* (diss. 1967). *ἱεροκατασκευῶν* (l. *ἱεροκατασκευῶν*). The word is new. It is composed of two parts, *ἱερο-* and *κατασκευῶν*, the latter obviously derived from *κατήρη*, a type of net. There are a number of occupation words based on the same root: *κατηρευτήρ*, *κατηρευτής*, *κατηρευτής*, *κατηρευθολός*. Since *ευ* does not change to *ι* but usually to *ε* or less frequently to *ου*, *ευου*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I pp. 228–31, we might suspect that *κατασκευῶν* derives from *κατηρευτής*, cf. L.R. Palmer, *Grammar* 111, although this word has so far not occurred in Greek literature or papyri.

1–2 These lines are written smaller and closer together than the rest of the text (the hand is the same). *Ἀθηνᾶς Θεομήτιδος θεᾶς μεγίστης*. Oxyrhynchus was her main cult centre in the Roman period. See J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. Van Maele, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 217–32; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* I 75; J. E. G. Whitehorn, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3080–82. She was worshipped together with Isis and Sarapis in the Theoreion, one of the major sanctuaries of the city as the considerable number of priests and servants of this temple show. **4440** is the first reference for fishermen associated with the temple.

Special religious ties between Athena Theoris and fish could explain why the temple took on a group of fishermen. Evidence for such ties may be found in a Ptolemaic dedication to Theoris (provenience unknown; first shown in catalogue 8 (1990): p. 40, no. 42) of the Galerie Nefer, Zürich) published by E. Bernard, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 200–202 with Taf. IIIb. The inscription is dedicated to *Θοήρει θεᾷ μεγάλῃ* in honour of Ptolemy X Alexander I and his children, which dates it to 101–88 BC. Below the text two large fish are engraved; they can be identified as an oxyrhynchus and a lepidotus. It seems unlikely that their purpose was simply decorative. There is no reference to fish in the text, but above the heads of the fish two crowns are visible, usually worn by goddesses. An offering stand is placed between the fish (we owe this information to Dr. R. Parkinson). This dedication then may be evidence that there was a fish cult connected with Theoris, and **4440** would support this hypothesis.

7 *Ταρούλλας Πρωτεύμαίου τοῦ Ταρούλλου*. The grandfather *Ταρούλλου* is very probably the same as in g: note that in all other cases in which two fisherman are listed, they are brothers, and a family connection seems therefore likely. The incidence of so many related pairs might suggest that equipment was shared within a family.

The name *Ταρούλλας* is Thracian and occurs in a number of inscriptions ('Die alten Thraker' II.2, *SB Akad. Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 131 (1894), p. 37). It is also listed in P. M. Fraser–E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, s.v. *Ταρούλλας* with reference to IG XII (g) 1036 (Chalkis, third century BC); IG XII 863 and p. 177 (Eretria, Hellenistic).

There is no other reference to this name in papyri from the Roman period, but a few instances from Ptolemaic times have been noted. V. Velkov and A. Fol collected evidence for Thracian names in *Les Thraces en Égypte Gréco-Romaine (Studia Thracica* 4, 1977). In their catalogue *Ταρούλλας*, *Ταρούλλας*, *Ταρούλλας* are listed: cf. no. 290 with 270 (second century BC), 294 (second century BC), 295 (first century BC).

10 *Θερμίτιος*. The middle of the word is partly obscured by the warping of the papyrus.

11 *ῥύμις Ὀνωφόριος*. This rarely-attested *ἄμφοδον* gains its name from a street name, itself named after a person. Cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen* 33 offering only the rather uncertain parallel of *ῥύμις*(?)

Μηκαίου, PSI I 75. The other references to the street of Onnophris are P. Mich. X 580, a notification of disappearance from 19/20 AD (6 ἐπι λαύρας ῥύμι[ης] Ὀνωφόρι(εως)) and PSI IX 1034, a list of people and quarters from the second or third century (7 ῥύμις Ὀνωφ); cf. J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* 85.

14 ἀναμποδάρχων (l. ἀναφοδάρχων). Cf. XVIII 2186.

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#### 4441. REPORTS TO THE LOGISTES

70/25 bis +

70/54(d) +

97/211 +

97/229

Largest fr. (cols. i–iv) 51 × 26 cm

315, Jan.–Feb. 316

Grenfell and Hunt published part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίμος* of reports to the logistes or *curator civitatis* as I 53. The introduction mentioned three items, a report by some builders (never published) and attached to it a report from the guild of carpenters the text of which was presented as 53. Broken off from these was the third item, a doctor's report (not two doctors, as 53 introd.), which likewise was not published at the time. This third item appeared among the descriptions in vol. VI as 983. A later transcript by Hunt was then reprinted as SB III 6003.

This confusing history can now be taken a stage further. We have discovered the missing right-hand portion of 983 (see col. i 2 n.), allowing us to republish this now completed report as 4441 col. i. We are grateful to Dr Brian McGing for helping us to obtain a photograph of 983. Attached to those newly discovered line ends is another doctor's report (4441 col. ii) and attached to that is a report from the guild of various building trades, to whose declaration (col. iii) is appended the start of what was once a long list of repairs needed to various buildings (col. iv). Detached fragments supply portions of several further columns. Cols. v–viii continue the list of repairs needed that began in col. iv. Cols. i and iii (subscriptions apart) and iv–viii are all in the same hand. A further report from representatives of various building trades, in a different and very contorted hand, occupies cols. ix–x. The remaining columns, in another hand again, contain yet another builders' report. Both of these two last reports list building materials needed for specific repairs, rather than listing the repairs needed (cf. XXXI 2581).

For another *τόμος* associating doctors and builders cf. XLIV 3195 (331), and also VI 896. 896 belongs to 316, the same year as 4441, but a few weeks later. It and 53 and 4441 were all found in the same (1897) season of excavations. We may suspect that 896 belongs to the same *τόμος* as 53 and 4441, but the pattern of the item numbers and dates indicates otherwise: the item numbers should be lower as the dates fall later, not higher, cf. e.g. LX 4060. However, we may be wrong to insist on such precision in making up the *τόμος*.

The logistes Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius is well known. See P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, p. 223, for his first period of office (53 and 983 already recorded there);

the date of the *τόμος* falls comfortably in the middle of it. The date of **983** should be corrected to 22 February 316, see col. i 15 n. below.

Since the same scribe drafted texts for a doctor (col. i) and for builders (cols. iii–viii) he is likely to have worked in the logistes' bureau, cf. P. Oxy. LIV Appendix IV (p. 241). The same is likely to apply to the scribe of cols. ix–x, who would draft LIV **3746** four years later.

The doctors' reports (cols. i–ii) are of the usual grisly kind. Recently published but incomplete examples are LXIII **4366** and **4370**; note also LXI **4122**. The remainder of **4441** is more interesting, particularly the detailed list of repairs needed to various buildings. The topographical information contained here is especially valuable. The repairs needed were arranged (cols. iv–viii) under the headings Northern Stoa, Western Stoa, Eastern Stoa and Southern Stoa, in that order. Among the buildings mentioned we may note, under the heading of the Western Stoa, the surgery of Dioscorus (iv 8), possibly the public doctor who submits the report that forms col. ii here; a stable (iv 10); the school of the teacher Dionysius (iv 18–20); the temple of Fortune (v 4); the temple of Achilles (v 6); the record-office of the Western Stoa (v 8), in the vicinity of the quarter of the Small(?) Temgenuthis (v 8–9); a market (v 11); the *ἐξαγορεῖον* (v 13), and the house of Thonius, *μυθράριος* (v 21).

Under the heading of the Eastern Stoa, beginning from the north (v 23), we may note the house of (?)Demetrius (vi 2); the house of  $\kappa$  and Sarapion (vi 4); the place of Athenodorus (vi 7); the place of Didymus, fruiterer (vi 9, cf. 10 for the occupation); the house of Euporion, former condiment seller (vi 11); the temple of Hadrian (vi 12); the 'Street of the warm baths of the public bath', opposite which there is 'the vetch-seller's shop of the Eastern(?) Stoa' where there is a beer-seller's shop (vi 14–15); the temple of Demeter and the temple of Dionysus, apparently close together (vi 17); and opposite them, perhaps the butcher's shop of Ammon (vi 18, cf. 19).

The section for the Southern Stoa began at vi 20, but the following column is lost; the bath mentioned in viii 2 must be in the same district.

The Northern Stoa must have begun the list at iv 2, see n., but there is only one entry, with a reference to a bedchamber (iv 3). This is surprising, in view of the extent of the other sections; perhaps the area of the Northern Stoa had had repairs on a previous occasion. It is listed at xiv 11 in a separate report.

Other topographical details, unlocated, in the remaining columns include an interesting reference (xii 15) to an imperial palace. It was not previously known that there was one at Oxyrhynchus. Cols ix–x appear all to relate to the repairs needed at a bath, also unlocated. The complex included what was probably a colonnaded gymnasium, x 21 with n. Note also various references to kilns or furnaces (x 22, 25, 31), involved in the production of the repair materials rather than themselves being in need of repair.

As regards the stoas themselves, C. Salvaterra usefully collects the earlier material in *Aeg.* 70 (1990) 20. Her own text (*ibid.* p. 16) attested the Western Stoa for the first time, subject to some uncertainty over the text's Oxyrhynchite provenance. The Eastern

and Southern Stoas are variously attested, but the Northern Stoa had not been mentioned by name until now. Given that **4441**'s list of repairs needed proceeds from the Eastern Stoa to the Southern Stoa (vi 7, 20), I think we may conclude that the references in **4441** are to formally named structures, not just to colonnades on one side or the other of some unnamed street, cf. the Hermopolite *παρ' ἐκότερα νοτιῆς καὶ βοιωῆς τροῶν*, SB X 10299.191–2.

The plan e.g. of the agora at Magnesia on the Maeander (J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work* 121) shows how a warren of small shops and workshops might be an integral part of a stoa, perhaps helpful in understanding some of the topographical details furnished by the new papyrus (cf. Salvaterra, *Aeg.* 70 (1990) 20). This theme is expanded by Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* 10–11.

The composition of the roll that I outlined is indicated by a combination of factors (hands, content, damage patterns), but above all by the column numbers that were added in the upper margin of the *τόμος* on its completion. These only survive intermittently, but we have a clear 106 above col. i and a clear 115 above col. x. Nevertheless, I must state my unease at my own reconstruction of the end of col. iv. There is a gap right down the centre of this column (with a kollesis at this point, so excluding any chance of fibre comparisons), and the reconstruction is not entirely satisfactory either for the line alignment or for the text; yet the tight framework imposed by the original column numbers allows very little latitude. The line-ends themselves are carried on two separate pieces: the ends from the column foot are on the same sheet as col. v, while the ends of the first thirteen lines are on a piece found separately but almost certainly to be physically attached to the upper part of col. v. Yet we then have an unexpected adjustment to the alignment of col. v's line beginnings, while on the back the vertical fibres at the top hardly resemble those at the foot.

The physical structure of the end of the roll (cols. viii ff.) is complicated. The pattern of damage allows us to reconstruct three layers of the roll, which had to have been rolled left to right. Several distinctive features in **4441** recur at an interval of c. 34–37 cm, which is to say that this was the approximate circumference of the roll at this point. The top layer is represented first by the fragment with the top margin and col. viii's line ends, which adjoin a broad blank area (blank, that is, except for an unexplained horizontal line) preceding a new document at col. ix. The bottom layer of the sandwich is col. x (the number 115 that heads it will not allow an intervening column, and also makes clear that these numbers head columns, not items), in two parts, one with the top margin and the other with the foot. The corresponding piece with the foot of col. viii has been lost. Directly interleaved between these was col. xii, again in two portions, with upper and lower margins respectively. To all appearances the lower piece adjoins the blank area preceding col. ix, but in fact it runs underneath that blank area and has become bonded to it. Revealed by the lacuna pattern, folds complicate the structure even further: in the blank area before col. ix, there was a fold back underneath to the left, reversing the roll's direction, but this was quickly negated



by a further fold forward, right down col. ix's line beginnings. The top and bottom of col. xii, as found, align well in terms of document content and fibres, that is to say they were found in the same relationship as they had in the intact roll. The same cannot be said for col. x, of which the line-ends and fibres are out of alignment when the two pieces are aligned as required by the damage pattern; and above all, how the later col. xii came to be interleaved between col. viii and col. x remains baffling.

Apart from the joins due to the construction of the τόμος (i.e. attaching col. i to col. ii and col. ii to col. iii, and preceding col. ix), manufacturer's joins (i.e. three-layer joins) occur in several places. 1) At the extreme left edge of the large piece with cols. i-iv, thus in the middle of col. i as transcribed; its presence caused the separation from 983, see above. 2) Rather less than halfway along the lines of col. ii. 3) Down the centre of col. iii. 4) Down the centre of col. iv, at the extreme right edge of the large piece with cols. i-iv. 5) Down the beginnings of lines of col. v. 6) Down the centre of col. vi. 7) At the ends of lines of col. viii. 8) Down the middle of what remains of col. ix. 9) Down the centre of col. xiv. The size of only one kollema can be established with certainty, that between (3) and (4), where the visible surface of the sheet measures 17 cm. The stretch between (5) and (6) measures approximately 34 cm, and covers two kollemata, a join being lost between the two pieces of papyrus that carry this section of the roll.

There is no writing on the back of any of the pieces, except for offsets on the back of the piece with the top of col. xii, derived from the piece with the top of col. x which was directly in contact with it, and probably still more offsets on the back of the latter piece.

## Col. i

(m. 14)

(m. 1) [Οὐαλερίω] Ἀμμωνιανῶ ρς τῶ καὶ Γεροντίω λ[ογic]τ[ῆ] Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
[παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου] Σαραπίωνος Ἡροδότου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ[πράς]  
καὶ λαμ[προτάτης] Ὁξ[υρυγχιτ]ῶν  
πόλεως δημοσίου ἱατροῦ.  
[ἐπεστάλην τῆ] χθὲς ἡμέρα, ἣτις ἦν Μεχειρ κς—, ἐκ βιβλιδίων  
[ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Νουνδιναρίου  
5 [ c. 9 ] traces of c. 18 letters ὡστε γενέσθαι ἐν ἐποικίῳ  
αὐτοῦ Π[ . . . ]ειω καὶ ἐφιδὴν τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλη-  
[γέντος? c. 6 ] . . . του καὶ [ . . . ] φύλακος Μουεῖτος διάθεσις  
καὶ ἐνγράφως σοι π[ρο]σφωνῆσαι. ὄθεν ἐν τῶ ἐποικίῳ γε-  
[νόμενος] ἐφίδον τὸν αὐτὸν Μ[ο]ρεῖν κλεινήρην ὄντα ἔχοντα  
κατὰ μὲν τοῦ βρέγματος διαίρεσιν μετὰ ψιλώσεως

[τοῦ] ὄστρεον καὶ κατὰ τῆς κορυφῆς τραύματα δύο μετὰ  
ψιλώσεως τοῦ ὄστ[ρέ]ου καὶ κατὰ τῆς ὄθεν τούτων τραύματα  
[ . . . ] ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ μέρους τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ  
ἄριστερου κροτά [φου 5-6] . . .  
οἰδήματος καὶ κατὰ τῶν . . . [ 0-2 ]  
10 [τοῦ] ἄριστερου ὠπί[ου οἴ]δημα μετὰ πελιώματος καὶ κατὰ  
τῆς δεξιᾶς ὠμο[πλάτης καί] τοῦ ὠμου  
οἰδημα μετὰ πελιώματος  
[καὶ κ]ατὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς χι[ρῶ]ς κατὰ τοῦ μεγίστου δακτύλου  
πλήγμα μετ' οἰδ[ή]ματος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ  
βραχειῶνος τῆς δεξιᾶς  
χειρὸς οἰδημα μετ[ὰ] πελιώματος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἄριστερου  
μυροῦ τρώ[ειν . . . ] . [ . ] . ως καὶ τοῦ  
γονατίου ἄνωθεν τρώειν  
καὶ ἐ[πι] τοῦ δεξιῦ μυροῦ τρώειν δύο πέρασ εἰς  
πέρασ [κ]αὶ κατὰ [πάσης τῆς] ἄριστερᾶς πλευρᾶς  
τρώειν· ὄθεν προσφονῶ.  
(ἔτους) ις" [καὶ] ης" τ[ῶ]ν κυρίων [ . . . ] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
καὶ Α[ικωνίου]ν Σεβαστῶν, ἐπὶ ὑπατ[ε]ίας  
15 Καικινίου Καβε[ίου] καὶ Οὐεττίου Ρουφίνου τῶν  
λαμπροτάτων, Μεχ[εῖρ κς] —.

(m. 2) Ἀὐρηλίου [Σαρα]πίων ἐπειδέδωκα προσφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

## Col. ii

(m. 14)

(m. 3) Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῶ ρς τῶ καὶ Γεροντίω  
[λογ[ic]τῆ] Ὁξ[υρυγχίτου]  
βουλευτῆ τῆς λαμ[πράς] καὶ [λαμ[προτάτης]  
Ὁξ[υρυγχίτων] πόλεως [ . . . ]  
5 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου [Ἡ]ρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως δημοσίου [α]τροῦ. ἐπεστάλην ὑπὸ σοῦ  
ἐκ βιβλιδίων ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ἐπὶ Ἀὐρηλίου  
Ἄρου Ἄρου καταγινόμενου ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ἡμοβε-



- 5 (vac.?) [ up to c. 26 ] (vac.)  
 ἐπι δὲ [τῆς λιβικῆς στοᾶς? c. 9 δι]ορθωθῆναι οὕτως·  
 κα[ί] ἀρχομένων ἀπ[ὸ up to c. 22 ] (vac.)  
 4 πρὸς ἱατρίῳ Διοσκόρ[ου? c. 15 παλ]αιωθέντων καὶ δεομένων  
 ἐτέρων σπιρῶν [ δύο ἐνὸς με[γ up to c. 20 ] (vac.)  
 10 / καὶ πρὸς τῷ στάβλῳ [ c. 20 π]άνοι ἀχρηστωθεὶς ἀνθ' οὗ  
 ἴκος ὀφίλει γενέσθαι [ c. 6 ]. [ up to c. 22 ] (vac.)  
 [ c. 38 ] τύχου δεόμενοι διο[ρθώσεως  
 [ c. 30 γε]γενῆσθαι δι(ἀ) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Εὐδ[αίμονος?  
 / καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) λιβι[κῆς στοᾶς] δ . . . [ . . . ]  
 15 ταύτης λίθων ὥστε οἰκία Ἑρακλ[  
 λίθους τοῦ τύχου πεπα[λαιωμεν-?  
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀψίδος δισθα διορθ[ώσεως  
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλίῳ γραμματοδιδασκάλου [ c. 35 ] γ  
 δηλοῦμεν ἀχρήστους γεγενῆ[σθαι c. 34 δι]ἀ  
 20 Διονυσίου γραμματοδιδασ[κάλου.  
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῷ τύχου τοῦ προσπαρακείμενου [ c. 28 ] . . . . . τύχον  
 διορθώσεως διὰ τὸ τ. [ c. 25 ?γεγε]νησθαι  
 δι(ἀ) Θαήσιος λαχανοπώλ[ου.

## Col. v

- ἐπ[ί? c. 38 ] . [ up to c. 48 ]  
 . [ c. 22 ] . . [ c. 14 ] . . [ up to c. 47 ] .  
 δι . . . δ[ c. 12 ] το [ up to c. 42 ] ]  
 4 [καὶ π]ρὸς τῷ Τυχ[ε]ί[ω] . [ c. 4 ] . [ c. 7 ] ντο [ c. 36 πεπ]α-  
 5 λαιώσθαι δι[ . . . ] [ c. 5 ] ειογ[ up to c. 37 ]  
 / καὶ [π]ρὸς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖῳ πρὸς τῷ . . . [ c. 4 ] . ρι . . . [ ?δ]μαλιε  
 οὗ ὁ ἴκος ὀφίλει ὑ[πο]βλ[η]θῆ[ναι] (vac.)  
 / καὶ πρὸς τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς αὐτῆς λιβικῆς [c]τοᾶς [ c. 31  
 ?Μικρ]ᾶς  
 Τεγμενούθεως τόποι δεόμενοι δ[ιο]ρ[θώσεως c. 31 ]  
 10 Φιλονίκου καὶ Ἡλιοδώ[ρ]ου καὶ Ἀμμω[ν- up to c. 40 ]

- / καὶ πρὸς τῷ μακέλλῳ στῶλοι [ε]ξ πάνοι παλα[ί]ω[θέντες c. 25  
 ] . . . . . [ τῶν λοιπῶν [cτῷ]λων τριῶν . . . [ up to c. 30 ]  
 κ[αί] πρὸς τῷ ἐξαγορίῳ ἐνγιστα τοῦ ἐκίσε πλ . . . [ c. 28  
 δ]ε[σ]ο[μ]νοι  
 ὑποραφῆς ὑπογυῖου δι[ . . . ] . . [ c. 28 ] . .  
 15 [καί] πρὸς τῷ τόπῳ ἐγγυς τῆς . . . . . [ . . . ] [ c. 26  
 ] . παλαι[ωθέν;]  
 . . . . . [δ]εόμενον ἐπι[κ]κευῆ[c] δι[ . . . ] [ c. 4 ] ἐξ[α] . . . . . [ c. 15  
 4 καὶ ἀντικρῦ ἱεροῦ . . ρ . . . . . [ c. 6 ] . [ . . ] . α . ο . εσα . . . . . [ του δεόμενοι  
 ἐπισκευῆς δι(ἀ) Μ]έλανος χιριστοῦ.  
 4 καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐκίνοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτέρας φλει[ᾶς c. 17  
 ] . . . . . λειανθέν  
 20 οὗ ὁ ἴκος ῥεῖται ὑποβληθῆναι διὰ Ἑρακλήσου χιριστοῦ  
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Θωνίου μιθραρίου τόπος εἰς τοὺς [ c. 15  
 δεόμενος] ἐπισκευῆς  
 διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θωνίου.  
 ἀπηλωτικῆς στοᾶς καὶ ἀρχομένων ἀπὸ βορρᾶ [ Col. vi  
 4 . . . [ . . ] c. 19 ] . . [ . . . ]  
 4 καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Δ[ημητρίου? c. 5] . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . [6-7] . . . . . [ δι(ἀ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ?Δημ]ητ[ρ]ί[σ]ου.  
 4 δηλοῦμεν δὲ τυχ[ον Διογένους] καὶ Σαραπίωνος [?οικία]ς ἐκ  
 βορ[ρᾶ  
 5 ἐπικείμενον [ c. 4 ] . . . . . πάνοι πα[λαι]ωθέντα τ[ε] καὶ  
 πτάσις [ 7-8 ] . . . [ ἐπιτ]η [ c. 6 ] δ[ι]ὰ τῶν [α]ὐτῶν Διογ[ε]ῖ[σ]ους καὶ  
 Σαραπίωνος.  
 [ ] καὶ πρὸς τῷ [ . ] . εχ . . . . . τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπηλωτικῆς στοᾶς πρὸς  
 τῷ τ[όπ]ῳ Ἀθηνοδώρ[ου  
 [ c. 15 ] (vac.)  
 4 καὶ δ . . . . . [ . . ] [ c. 7 π]ρὸς τῷ τόπῳ Διδύμῳ τόποι τῆς στοᾶς  
 δεόμενοι ἐπι[κ]κευῆς

10 δ[ιὰ] Διδύμου ὄπωρ[ο]πάλου καὶ Ζακαῶνος πλακουντᾶ.  
 [ ] . [ c. 6 ] α . [ c. 4 ] . γ πρὸς [ ] . [ c. 5 ] . γην π[ρὸς δ] ἐ τῆ οἰκία  
 Ἐμποριῶνός ποτε ἄρτυμ[ατοπάλου  
 [ c. 4 ] . [ c. 5 ] . [ c. 8 ] πθλεως καὶ τ[ο]ῦ Ἄδριανίου  
 πάνου παλαιωθείσαι κα[ὶ] δεόμεναι  
 καὶ ἐρίσεως δι(ὰ) τ[ο]ῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Ἐὑπορ[ί]φνος.  
 4 καὶ ἀντικρὺ ῥύμης θερμῶν δ[ημο]σίου βαλανίου πρὸς τῷ ἐκίσε  
 ὄρβιοπωλεί[ο]ν τῆς [αὐτῆς ἀπηλιωτικῆς?]  
 15 στοᾶς πρὸς τῷ ἐκίσε ζυτοπωλίου [ ] τῶχος ὑπὸ τῆν  
 στοᾶν δεόμενος  
 δι(ὰ) Δουλίου ὄρβιοπάλου.  
 4 καὶ ἀντικρὺ ἱεροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ Διονυσίου τῶχος  
 τῆς στοᾶς [ ] πο . ε . [ ]  
 Ἄμμωνος π[ά]νοι παλαιωθείς καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἔχων  
 δεῖ[ ] μενος  
 διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἄμμωνος μαγίρου.  
 20 νοτάνης στ[οᾶ]ς

(Col. vii lost)

Col. viii

δεόμε[ ] ἐ[ ] ν[ο]ι ὑποραφῆς [ ]  
 ] ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὸ βάλαι-  
 δ]εόμενοι διορθώσεως  
 ] (vac.)  
 5 ] ης  
 ] ρς πολιτικοῦ δημοσίου  
 πη]χῶν εἰκοσι ἐπτὰ  
 ] (vac.)  
 ] γτα δέκα . . . [ . . . ] . . . ( )  
 10 ] οντα[ . . . ] . . . ἐκ μ[ή]-  
 [ ] (vac.)  
 ] . . . ου[ ]

Col. ix

(m. 11) ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κ[ωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου]  
 Σεβαστῶν [τὸ δ'.]  
 Οὐαλερίω Ἀμμωνιανῷ τῷ κ[αὶ] Γεροντίω λογιστῇ  
 Ὁξυρυγίτου  
 παρὰ Ἀῤρηλίων Ἀχι[λ]λέως καὶ Π . . . . [ ] μηνι-  
 5 αρχῶν οἰκοδ[ό]μων καὶ Σιλβανοῦ . . . . [ ] ?Πολυ-  
 δεύκης καὶ Σιλβανοῦ Σαραπ[ ] Ἡρα-  
 κλείδου μολυβουργῶν κα[ὶ] [ ]  
 Νειλάμμωνος ὑαλο[ ] ργῶν [ ]  
 κληθουργῶν καὶ Ἡρακλείδ[ου] [ ]  
 10 Θ[έ]ωνος κονιατῶν τῶν [πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ  
 λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγχεϊτῶν) πόλ(εως).]  
 ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι . . . . ρο . [ ]  
 χως χρηματίζοντες [ ]  
 νου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[ε]ω[ς] [ ]  
 μενοι ὁμολογοῦμεν [ὀμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον]  
 15 θιον ὄρκον τῶν δε[ ] ποτῶ[ ] ν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ  
 Λικινίου Αὐτοκ[ρα]τῶρων [ ] τὰ  
 ἐξῆς ἐν[ ] γεγραμμένα [ ] ἐπι-  
 σκευὴν α . [ . . . ] . ἐπὶ το . [ ]  
 φωνου . [ . . μ]ηδενό[ς] [ ]  
 20 μεν τῶν [ ]  
 πλην δ . [ ]  
 κλω . [ ]  
 κεραμί[δ]ες δ[ ] στρά]κινας [ ]  
 ὀπτῆς πλάνθ[ου] (vac.) [ ]  
 25 οἰκοδῶμοι (m. 12) οἱ ἐνχρηζόντες [ ]  
 25a ἐργάται ὁμοίως οἱ ἐ[ ] γρηζόντες [ ]  
 (m. 11) ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ μολιβου[ ] ργοί [ ]  
 χαλκίων καὶ σωλή[ ] νων [ ]  
 ἐπὶ χριῶν τοῦ αὐ[ ] τοῦ βαλανείου? ?μολύβδου ὄλ-  
 κῆς κεν(τηνάρια) κ' ὡς [τοῦ κεντημαρίου α]

## Col. x

(m. 14)

(m. 11)

5

10

15

20

25

30

(One column lost?)

ριε

] . [ . ] ην χρήσειν δλκῆς

] (vac.) λξ

] . [ . ] λ'

] ἐνχρήζοντα καὶ

] ια κανουργίας

] βαλανίου οἰεν[ . ] .

] (vac.) . [ . ] .

] . εαβδ] . [ c. 4 ] . υεν του[ 5-6 ] ο  
traces?

] . ια[ 4-5 ] . [ . ]

] . ο . λα[ 4-5 ] . . . [ . ]

] . [ . ]

] . [ . ]

] .

] . .

] .

] α (ἥμισυ)

δ] λκῆς [κεντη] γαρίου α (ἥμισυ)

] λων καὶ ξυςτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλ-

[λων ?ἐπὶ τὸ] αὐτὸ καμίνων μ

] κεντηνάρια ιζ' ὁμοῦ κεν(τηνάρια) χπ

] . . πρὸς τὴν τῆς κονίας ἐψίαν . η

?ἐκάστο] υ καμίνου ἐκ μουῦτων πεν-

[τήκοντα? ?μο]ύια Ζ

] βαλανίου εἴκρια, γίνονται

] .

] .

?ἐ] κ κοπριακῶν κοπριῶν ν ε

?ἐκ] ἄςτου καμίνου ἐκ μουῦτων

] .

ρ

## Col. xii

(m. 13) [Οὐαλερίω] Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῶ καὶ Γε[ροντίω λογιστῆ

'Οξυρυγχίτου]

[παρὰ τοῦ κο]μοῦ τῶν τε λαξολατόμων κ[αὶ οἰκοδόμων]

[καὶ τεκτόνων] ν τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

'Οξυρυγχί[τῶν πόλεως ?διὰ τῶν]

[?ἐκάστης] ἐργασίας ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων . [ . ]

5 [ c. 5 το] ὑ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου Αἰγύπτου Ἡρ[κουλίας  
Αὐρηλίου]

[Ἀντωνί]ου ὡς τε με[τ]ὰ ἀκριβίας πάσης ε . . . . [ . ]

[ c. 6 ] . των δημ[οσί]ων οἰκοδομημάτων . [ . ] . [ . ]

[ c. 6 ] α ἀρχη . [ . . . . ] τα τ . γο . . . [ . ]

[ c. 5 ] . [ . ] . [ c. 7 ] . ἀκριβ . . . . [ . ]

10 [ c. 16 ] . . . . ρα[ . ]

(One line lost?)

[ . ] . [ . ]

[ . ] νει[ . ]

[ . ] . . [ . ] ερων . [ . ]

15 [Ε]ρο[θ] παλατίου (vac.) [ . ]

εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ἦτοι ὑπηρεσ[ίαν τ]ῶν δε[ομένων τόπων?

γείνοιτο [ . ]

ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ λαξολατόμοι λίθ[ο]ι ἐκ μή[κος] πήχου &lt;ε&gt; ἐν[ός]

ὑψους δακτύλων ἰ ἀριθμ[ο]

20 ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ οἰκοδόμοι ἀμῆ[ε] πλῆ[θος]

## Col. xiii

] . .

] .

] .

] . ρεῖα

5

]
  
] υ
  
] ς
  
]

## Col. iv

[ . . . [ 2-3 ] . [ . . . ] κ' βὰ [θουε? . . . ] [
  
[ήμ]εις δὲ οἱ οἰκοδόμοι [
  
εἰς κατάστροων στῶς . . . [ c. 4 ] . . . [
  
καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τέκτονες [ c. 5 ] . [
  
5 δοκίδες ξενικαὶ εἰς . . . [ . . . ] . ἰγ' πλάτ[ουε
  
πάχους δακτύλ[ων
  
φαινικίνας δοκοὺς [
  
ἐκ μήκους πηχ[ῶν
  
ἐρίσματα ξενικὰ εἰς . . . [ c. 5 ] . . . [
  
10 ἐκ μήκους πηχ[ῶν c. 3 ] . ο . . . δ[
  
καὶ εἰς βορινὴν στοὰν [ . . . ] . [

## Col. i

3 λαμῶ, λαμῶ, ἰατροῦ 4 l. βιβλιδίων 5 l. ἐπιθεῖν 6 l. ἐγγράφως 7 l. ἐπεῖδον, κλητήρη; υ of διαφρεῖν corr. from c 11 l. χειρὸς, βραχίονος 12 l. χειρὸς; υ of second πρῶτων corr. from c 13 l. πρῶσει, προσφωνῶ. π of first πέρασ apparently altered to τ 14 L 15 ουεῖῖου 16 l. ἐπιδέδωκα

## Col. ii

2 οεῖῖ? 9 βῆ; l. ἐπιθεῖν 9-10 l. ἐγγεγραμμένον 11-12 l. ἐγγράφως 14 l. κλητήρη

## Col. iii

2 Upper right arm of χ extended 6 l. πόλιω 7 l. ἀρχαιοτάτης 8 l. ἀσφαλές; ὑπαρ 9 l. οἰκίαις? 10-11 l. προσπαρακειμένα 11 l. ἐμπέροις 12 l. ἐγγεγραμμένους, δείσθαι 13 L 14 λαμῶ 16 'μεν' in different hand? l. προσφωνόντες, πρόκειται 17 ὑπερ, ἰδοτοςῖραματῖα; l. εἰδῶτος γράμματα 26 l. προσφωνῶν 27 επ[ε]ιδέδωκα? l. ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν, πρόκειται

## Col. iv

3 l. τοίχος 8 ἰατριῶ; l. ἰατρείῳ, σπειρῶν 10 l. πάνυ; ἴκος; l. ὀφέλει 12 l. τοίχου 13 δι', α- 14 α- 16 l. τοίχου 17 l. δείσθαι 18 l. διδασκαλείῳ 21 l. τοίχῳ, προσπαρακειμένου, τοίχον 23 δι'

## Col. v

5 a corr. from ε? 6 l. ὀμαλείς? 9 πει'μενουθεως? 11 l. πάνυ 13 l. ἐξαγορεύω ἔργιστα, ἐκέειε 14 l. ὑπογραφῆς 18 l. χειριστοῦ 19 l. ἐκαίνοις. Possibly ]ωνων 20 l. δέται, χειριστοῦ 21 l. μτταρίου

## Col. vi

4 l. τοῖχον 5 l. ἐπικείμενον, πάνυ 9 l. Διδόμου 10 First π of δπωροπόλου corr.? 12 l. Ἀδριανείου πάνυ 13 l. ἐρείσεως; δι? 14 l. βαλανείου, ὀρβισπωλείου 15 χ of τυχος corr. from λ. l. τοίχος 16 δι' 17 ἱερου (first example only). l. Δημητρείου, Διονυσίου τοίχος 18 l. πάνυ 19 l. μαγείρου

## Col. viii

1 l. ὑπογραφῆς 2 l. τό? 9 ] . . . -

## Col. ix

6 l. -δεύκουε 7 γ of μολυβουργῶν corr. 8 ὕαλουργων 14 First ο of ὁμολογούμεν much enlarged 15 l. θεῖον 17 l. ἐγγεγραμμένα 17-18 κ of ἐπισκευήν a correction 23 l. δετράκιναί 25 l. οἰκοδόμοι, ἐγχρηζόντες 26 η corr. from υ 28 Accidental ink between ι and χ. l. χρεῖων 29 κεν'

## Col. x

2 l. χρῆσιν 4 λ': possibly α' 5 l. ἐγχρηζοντα 6 l. καινουργίας 7 init. ] ; or ]υ. l. βαλανείου 19, 20 ας' 22 μ at end rewritten 23 κεν' 25 μονίαν; l. μωλιαν 26 μονίαι; l. μωτία 27 l. βαλανείου Ἴκρια, γίνουτο. γίνουτο partly rewritten 30 Numeral ν rewritten 31 μονίαν; l. μωλιαν

## Col. xii

3 λαμῶ, λαμῶ 6 l. ἀκριβείας 8 ]τα: alpha has terminal form 9 Space before alpha 17 l. γίνουτο 19 ὕψους

## Col. xiv

5 ιγ: horizontal extended to represent ιγ' 9 l. ἐρείσματα 11 Last trace a finishing stroke?

## (Col. i)

(14th hand) '106.<sup>3</sup>  
(1st hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Sarapion, son of Herodotus, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, public doctor. I was instructed yesterday, which was Mecheir 26th, as a consequence of a petition presented to you by Valerius Nundinarius . . . to be in his farmstead of . . . and inspect the condition of the beaten-up . . . guard Muis and give you a written declaration. Wherefore, being in the farmstead, I inspected the said Muis who was confined to bed with a cut on the front part of the head, with the bone laid bare, and with two wounds on the crown with the bone laid bare, and below these wounds . . . on the right part of the head and on the left temple . . . swelling, and a swelling with bruising on the . . . of the left ear, and a swelling with bruising on the right shoulder-blade and the shoulder, and a blow with swelling on the biggest finger of the right hand, and swelling with bruising on the wrist of the right hand, and a wound on the left thigh . . . and a wound above the knee, and two wounds on the right thigh from end to end and a wound down all the left side; wherefore I make

this declaration. Year 10 and 8 of our ... lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, in the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *viri clarissimi*, Mecheir 27th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. ii)

(14th hand) '107.'

(3rd hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, councillor of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites ..., from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Heron from the same city, public doctor. As a result of a petition presented to you by Aurelius Horus son of Horus, residing in the farmstead of Hemiobelitu near the village of Seneceleu, ... Aurelius Theon *ex-beneficiarius*, I was instructed by you to inspect his brother Phibis, named in the petition, and whatever condition I found him in to declare it in writing. Wherefore, going to the indicated farmstead called Hemiobelitu, I inspected Phibis who was confined to bed with a cut ... his head and on his left shoulder-blade and shoulder ... and on his forearm and ... his right ... wherefore I make this declaration. ... (in the consulship of) Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *viri clarissimi*, [month and day].'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Dioscorus, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. iii)

(14th hand) '108.'

(1st hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the following listed masons and stone-cutters and carpenters and others and the elders of each craft, through the persons signing below. We were instructed by Your Diligence to inspect all the buildings throughout the city belonging to it, as well as any other structures in the most ancient city that are broken down from hard usage and time, in the interests of the security of the properties(?) of the city. Wherefore in the meantime having gone round the civic works and other buildings in a poor state adjacent to public works, together with ... experts, we declare that the following listed places require the necessary restoration. Year 10 and 8 of our lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, in the consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, *viri clarissimi*, Tybi (vac).'

(5th hand) 'We, Aurelii Melas son of  $x$  and Demetrius son of Thonius, presented this jointly, declaring as aforesaid. I, the same Demetrius, wrote on behalf of the other one because he is illiterate.' (6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Chôous son of Pausirion, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (7th hand) 'We, Aurelii  $x$  son of  $x$  and Thonius son of Dionysius and Sacaon son of Horus and  $x$  son of  $x$  and Dioscorus son of Serenus, carpenters, presented this, declaring as aforesaid. I, Aurelius  $x$  son of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, wrote on their behalf in their presence, because they are illiterate.' (8th hand) 'I, Aurelius Aphynchis son of Heracles, stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (9th hand) 'I, Aurelius Artemidorus son of Heracles, stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.' (10th hand) 'I, Aurelius  $x$  son of  $x$ , stone-cutter, presented this, declaring as aforesaid.'

(Col. iv)

(14th hand) '109.'

(1st hand) '... Northern Stoa: beginning from the east:

'... the bedchamber of ... and ..., a wall ... requiring ...

'And in the Western Stoa ... to be restored as follows:

'And beginning from ...

'At the surgery of Dioscorus, ... antiquated and requiring twelve(?) replacement bases, one of them ...

'And at the stable ... rendered very unserviceable, in place of which a copy should be installed ...

'... of a wall, requiring restoration ... through the same Eudaemon(?) ...

'And in the same Western Stoa ... stones of this for(?) (the) house of Heracl- ... stones of the wall, antiquated ... the same arch(?) to need restoration ...

'And at the school of the schoolmaster ... we declare they have become unusable ... through Dionysius, schoolmaster.

'And at the wall of the adjacent ... a wall ... restoration because ... through Thaesis, vegetable-seller.'

(Col. v 4 ff.)

'And at the temple of Fortune ... to have become antiquated ...

'And at the temple of Achilles at the ... level, of which the equivalent should be substituted.

'And at the record-office of the same Western Stoa ... Small(?) Temgenuthis, places needing restoration ... through(?) Philonicus and Heliodoros and Ammon-'

'And at the market, six columns, very antiquated ... the remaining three columns ...

'And at the proclamation hall very near the ... there ... requiring immediate patching through ...

'And at the place near the ... antiquated ... requiring repair through ...

'And opposite the temple of ... requiring repair through Melas, merchant.

'And at those places on the upper lintel ... worn smooth, of which the equivalent needs to be substituted through Heracles, merchant.

'And at the house of Thonius, *mitrarius*, a place ... requiring repair through the same Thonius.

'Eastern Stoa: beginning from the north ['

(Col. vi 2 ff.)

'And at the house of Demetrius(?) ... through the same Demetrius(?).

'And we declare that a wall of the house of Diogenes and Sarapion, on the north ... abutting ... very antiquated and ... fall ... through the same Diogenes and Sarapion.

'And at the ... of the same Eastern Stoa, at the place of Athenodoros ...

'And ... at the place of Didymus, places of the stoa requiring repair through Didymus, fruiterer, and Zacaon, pastry-cook.

'... and at the house of Euporion, former condiment-seller ... city and the temple of Hadrian, very antiquated and requiring ... and propping up through the same Euporion.

'And opposite the street of the warm baths of the public bath, at the vetch-seller's shop there in the same Eastern Stoa, at the beer-seller's shop there, a wall below the stoa requiring ... through Dulius, vetch-seller.

'And opposite the sacred temple of Demeter and the sacred temple of Dionysus, a wall of the Stoa ... Ammon, very antiquated and in a dangerous condition, requiring ... through the same Ammon, butcher.

'Southern Stoa.'

(One column lost)

(Col. viii)

'... requiring patching ... for the same bath(?) ... requiring restoration ... civic public ... twenty seven cubits ... ten ... at a length of ...'

(Col. ix)

(11th hand) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Augusti for the 4th time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii Achilles and P- ... monthly presidents, builders, and Silvanus son of  $x$  and [ $x$  son of ?Poly]deuces and Silvanus son of Sarap-[and  $x$  son of Hera]clides, lead-workers, and [ $x$  son of  $x$  and  $x$  son of] Nilammon, glass-workers, [and  $x$  son of  $x$ ], locksmith, and Heraclides [son of  $x$  and  $x$  son of] Theon, plasterers, all from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites. On your requesting ... the said city ... we acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Imperatores ... clay roof tiles ... baked brick ... builders.' (Inserted, 12th hand) 'The necessary ...; workmen likewise, the necessary ...' (Continued, 11th hand) 'And we the lead-workers ... basins and pipes ... for the needs of the same ?bath ... ?lead, in weight 20 hundredweight, per hundredweight ...'

(Col. x)

(14th hand) '115.'

(11th hand) '... use, by weight ... 960(?)

'... necessary and ... renewal ... bath ...'

(Lines 20 ff.) '... by weight  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hundredweight.

'... and a colonnaded gymnasium and the other ... in total 40 kilns.

'... 17 hundredweight, together 680 hundredweight.

'... for the burning(?) to produce the lime ... each(?) kiln at fifty(?) bales of ... [total] 1000(?) bales.

'... ?props for the bath, would total ... 60.

- '... 6.  
'... at 50 dungheaps of dung, 200.  
'... each kiln at [2½] bales, [total] 100.'

(One column lost?)

(Col. xii)

(13th hand) 'To Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite, from the guild of the masons and builders and carpenters of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, [through the persons from each(?)] craft signing below. [We were instructed by(?)] Aurelius Antonius, *vir perfectissimus*, *praeses* of Aegyptus Heroulaia, with complete accuracy to ... of the public buildings ...' (15 ff.) 'The Imperial Palace: for the repair or maintenance of the places requiring it ... would total ...  
'We the masons: stones, one cubit long ... 10 fingerbreadths high, number ...  
'We the builders: unbaked brick ...'

(Col. xiv)

'... 20, ... deep(?) ...  
'And we, the builders ... for the paving of the stoa ...  
'And we, the carpenters ... Imported beams ... 13, ... broad, ... x fingerbreadths thick ... Palm-wood beams ... x cubits long ... Imported props for ... x cubits long ...  
'And for the Northern Stoa ...'

Col. i

2 The junction between VI 983 and the newly identified portion (see introd.) comes roughly two-thirds of the way along the lines. The papyrus separated at a manufacturer's kollesis. This was of the usual three layer type, and the edge vertical fibres of the upper sheet remain adhering to the lower sheet, followed by a blank area once covered by the written-on projecting horizontal fibre ends of the upper sheet. Here and there, writing traces are preserved on those vertical fibres because of gaps in the horizontal fibre structure of the upper sheet.

3 Aurelius Sarapion's name had been misinterpreted in earlier editions of this part of the text. Cf. LXIII 4370 6 n.

δημοσίου ιατροῦ. See LVIII 3926 37 n.

4 κς<sup>-</sup> is a correction of Hunt's κε. Mecheir 26th here = 21 February 316. For the name Nundinarius see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 18, 221.

5 Παγγ[ουλε]ειῶν looks a distinct possibility, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 128, but cannot be confirmed from the minimal traces. Note, however, that all the examples of ἐποικίω with this name listed by Pruneti are much later, all sixth or seventh century AD.

9 π[α]ρὲξ οἰδημασος?

14 (ἔτους) ιδ' [καὶ] ηδ' (=AD 315/6) was in essence already read by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, CNBD II 24 = *BASP* 16 (1979) 233.

The space between κυρίου and ἡμῶν (with some possible traces, highly uncertain on the available photographs; ignored in the SB III 6003 edition) is unexpected. Conceivably ἡμῶν was written twice.

15 The consular year is 316. For κζ<sup>-</sup> cf. line 4 above where the previous day was κς<sup>-</sup>. Mecheir 27th here = 22 February 316.

16 The photograph shows traces of two (three?) lines below ὠν of προσφώνη, in a different hand. They appear to be on a piece that has been compacted against the back of the piece with 4441 col. i. This could imply that they have lifted off from a point on the roll further to the right, the roll having been rolled from left to right (cf. introduction), but I do not see a place for them.

Col. ii

1 The traces are sufficient only to show that a column number was present, not to identify it; the number ρζ<sup>=</sup> 107 is owed entirely to the clear ρς = 106 that heads the preceding column.

3 That the *curator*, although centrally appointed, was a member of the local bouletic class is well known; nevertheless, it is unusual to find him addressed in this way. The traces at the line end are puzzling.

4 Dioscorus son of Heron, public doctor, has not been attested elsewhere in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

7-8 The village of Senecleu is well known, see P. Pruneti, op. cit. 164 5. The farmstead of Hemiobeliu, on the other hand, is attested here for the first time.

8-9 Αἰρηλίου Θεῶνος ἀπὸ β(ε)νε(κ)ικαίων. The grammatical connection for these words remains unclear. I can only suppose that the writer omitted a word or words preceding them; the simplest solution may be to supply <διδά>.

This Aurelius Theon has not previously been recorded in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. No doubt he would have been styled Valerius Theon while he held the post of *beneficiarius*, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 44. For the reversion to being styled Aurelius, cf. the *curator* Valerius Heron alias Sarapion (attested 308-12), styled Aurelius in 317/8 when out of office (XLV 3256; see LIV App. I, p. 223).

14 [ἐπε]ίδου. The papyrus probably actually had the common spelling ἐφίδου, cf. col. i 7 and e.g. I 53 9, LIV 3729 17.

20-21 One expects regnal formula + ἐπι ὑπατεύας in these lines, cf. col. i 13-14 and col. iii 12-13, but it is very hard to elicit letters from the scanty ink traces on the shredded surface.

23 A date is expected between early January (col. iii) and 22 February (col. i), 316.

Col. iii

1 [ρη]. Cf. col. ii 1 n.

3 λα]ξολατόμων. *Addendum lexicis*. The word recurs in xii 2 and 18. For λαξοί cf. LIX 4003 18 n.

5 τῆς τῆς ἐπιμελείας. Cf. C. Balconi, *Aeg.* 63 (1983) 58-9.

7 Ἰς ἀρχαιωτάτης (l. ἀρχαιωτάτης) simply to be taken literally? Elsewhere it occurs as an honorific epithet (Memphis: P. Bour. 26 ii 3, = C. Pap. Gr. II 79) but it is not otherwise attested as such for Oxyrhynchus.

8 καὶ [χρ]ῆμα is no more than a guess.

8-9 πρὸς τὸ τὸ ἀφθαλῆς (l. ἀφθαλῆς) ἐπαρχθῆν[αι]. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 94. 15-16.

13-14 For the regnal and consular years cf. col. i. The day of the month was omitted. The possible range is Tybi 5-30, = January 1-26, 316.

15 The lost name might begin Ἀχιλ-, but I cannot adapt the traces that follow to this.

24 Presumably Heracles is intended as the name of Apynchis' father, but the precise form given to the end of the name is unclear.

26 πρὸκειται was surely intended, but it is very hard to see the ductus in the middle of the word.

Col. iv

2 λ[ό]γος, then space for 12 letters?

βαρῆς στοᾶς καὶ ἀρχομένου ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου. This topographical heading must have named the Northern Stoa, since the Southern Stoa section begins at vi 20, while here the entries begin 'from the east': compare v 23, where entries for the Eastern Stoa begin 'from the north'.

3 For τῶχος = τοῖχος, *passim* in these accounts, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 197-8.

8 Check marks of this more elaborate type occur throughout this detailed report of needed building repairs, mingled with the simple diagonal type; to be more precise, there is a mark at the start of every entry where the surface is not lacunose. This applies to cols. iv, v and vi.

The simple check mark no doubt has a positive significance. It may be too fanciful to see a negative significance in the elaborate type, comparing for example H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* p. 40 (no. 359, ουκετι).

ιατρῶν Διοσκόρου? (l. ιατρῆων.) As outlined in the introduction, this could be the surgery of Dioscorus son of Heron, public doctor, who submits the report that forms 4441 col. ii.

The final trace is awkward; the line at this point is already much longer than the lines of this column further up. I suppose we must have a numeral, indicating how many new bases were required, but a simple figure (to keep the line as short as possible) is excluded by δύο at the start of the next line, and the shortest supplement seems to be δε[κα]δύο.

10 It is tempting to see a reference here to facilities for the *cursus velox*, since most Oxyrhynchite references to stables occur in this connection. However, we may wonder whether an establishment as large as the *mansio* in Oxyrhynchus would have needed to be (cf. LX 4087-8 introd., p. 193) would have been located in this relatively central area of the town. For κράβλος as the nominative form, see F. Mitthof and A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 76; cf. LXIII 4394 21-2 n. on φόρος = *forum*.



12 διορθώσεις. Cf. iv 17, 22 etc. See A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Traulos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁρῶν* 80. Elsewhere structures are said to require ἐπισκευή (v 16, 18 etc.) or ἔρεισις (vi 13), for which see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 110, 118, or ὑπογραφή (v 14, viii 1), 'patching'.

13 γυλγυνηθεῖα seems unavoidable, but awkward. I suppose its function here may be similar to iv 19, ἀρχήστους γεγενή[θ]αι, perhaps introduced by a διὰ τὸ ὑλ. sim. clause which has been inserted between δεόμενοι διορθώσεις (iv 12) and the statement of agent which otherwise would have followed directly. iv 22-3 might be similar.

15 The interpretation of ὅστε here is uncertain. I have supposed it to be prepositional with the dative, although this usage is generally found applied to persons, not things.

17 ἀψίδος. Cf. I 43 verso, v 10. ἀψίς (see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 46) may have a range of meanings, 'joint' or 'clamp' or 'arch' or 'vault'. In 43, P. Vindob. G. 12565.193 ed. H. Schmitz, *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (1934) 427, and 4441 context seems to require a larger feature, not a small detail; 'arch' is proposed in the translation above.

18 διδασκαλίῳ (l. διδασκαλείῳ) γραμματοδιδασκάλου. Cf. iv 20 Διονυσίου γραμματοδιδασ[κάλου]. J. R. Rea, LVIII 3952 11 n., usefully collects the references to γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι. The teacher Dionysius has not been attested before in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

20 Cf. iv 18 n.

23 A surface crease has interrupted the writing in several lines in the lower part of this column. This is particularly noticeable here, λαχ ἀνοπιῶ[ ], and to a lesser extent in 21, προσπα ρακμεινω.

## Col. v

1 A high unexplained trace in the margin above the beginning of this line.

1-2 The initial traces are well to the left of the line beginnings preserved lower down in this column. I presume the writer started at this point and then realised how far to the right he had allowed himself to go in iv 10 and 12.

4 τῷ Τυχ[ε]ζῶ. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3083; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* s.v. (fasc. 5, p. 1094). The presence in Oxyrhynchus of a Τυχεῖον, now assured by 4441, must increase the possibility that XXXI 2553 3 (the only other reference in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus) does refer to Oxyrhynchus; for Alexandria as the location in 2553, see J. F. Gilliam, *JCS* 3 (1978) 123-6.

4-5 πέπ[α]λαιώθεια. Cf. P. Mil. II 41.8.

6 τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖῳ. The only other attestation of a temple of Achilles at Oxyrhynchus has been SB I 1955 (G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* s.v. (fasc. 1, p. 191); J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3058).

If I am correct in interpreting the end of the line as ἑμαλεῖς, I see no obvious explanation for the plural, followed by clear ὁ ἕτερος in the next line. For ἑμαλεῖς see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 191.

8 The 'record office of the Western Stoa' has not been attested before.

?Μικράς. Cf. the next note.

9 Τεγμενοῦθεως. For this quarter of Oxyrhynchus (variously spelt, but Τεγμ- is the commonest form) see H. Rink, *Strassen- u. Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* 34-5. Rink's several references only include one to the 'Small Temgenuthis' (p. 35), cf. v 8 here where Μικράς is tentatively restored.

11 This is the first attestation of a μάκελλος at Oxyrhynchus. For the form such a structure might take, here clearly at least in part colonnaded, see D. M. Bailey, *Excavations at El-Ashmunien* IV 22. For the word as masculine cf. LXIII 4394 21-2 n.

13 τῷ ἐξαγορίῳ (l. ἐξαγορείῳ). The word has been much discussed, most recently by B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 334-3-6 n., with J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 201-2; J. E. G. Whitehorne, briefer, in *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3082. Now for the first time the word is clearly shown to be a neuter noun referring to a place, and it is likely that the other occurrences should be understood in this way (SB V 7634.9-10, 14, 29; P. Mert. I 265; PSI III 215.6; P. Heid. IV 334.5). We might then translate e.g. P. Heid. IV 3344-5: τῷ Θεορείῳ τῷ τῶν ἐξαγορείων, as 'the Thoereum of the proclamation halls', keeping Rea op. cit. in mind.

16 ἐπι[ε]κεμή[ε]. Cf. iv 12 n.

18 χριστοῦ (l. χειριστοῦ). Cf. 20. χειριστής has been variously translated in the Oxyrhynchus series: 'agent' (XII 1429, 1431, LVI 3874), 'assistant' (XLVIII 3429)—and left in Greek in XLIX 3513, 3515! Although we cannot be certain in the incomplete context, neither 'agent' nor 'assistant' looks appropriate here. Many of the persons liable for the listed repairs in 4441 are merchants of some kind (iv 23, vi 10, 13, 16, 19) and for χειριστής a general sense of 'merchant', 'dealer' or 'trader' may be likely.

19 φλε[ί]α. Cf. Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 262 s.v. φλεῖα.

λεωνθέν. Cf. *ibid.* 166 s.v. λεώνω.

21 μωραρίου. I suppose this to be equivalent to *μωραρίου*, but it would be an *addendum lexis* in either form. *μίτρα* indicates various forms of headgear or girdles, cf. LS<sup>9</sup>. LS s.v. *μίτρα* suggests a further meaning 'rope' but the bald citations fail to make clear that a particular rope which performed a girdling function was so called.

## Col. vi

1 The check mark and ecthesis are surprising. I suppose there must have been a one-line repairs entry, although nowhere else in this report is there an entry as short as that.

3 A superfluous horizontal line through δ[ι] might imply a deletion.

5 πάντοι πα[λα]ωθέντα τ[ε] [ε] καὶ πτώσειν. Cf. P. Mil. II 41.8-9.

8 The horizontal fibre surface is stripped away at this level until nearly halfway across the column, at which point it is blank. The single ink trace is actually seepage down to the vertical fibres, but should suffice to indicate that there has been writing here. Its lateral placing aligns with the inset lines above and below, to accord with the expected layout.

11 Ἐντορινωος. His name is not to be read in the declaration of the guild of ἀρτυματοπώλαι, LIV 3739 8-9, 25.

12 τ[ο]ῦ Ἀδριανίου (l. Ἀδριανείου). For temples of Hadrian in Egypt see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 100; for Oxyrhynchus in particular, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3067. Whitehorne cites BL III for the correct reading in P. Harr. I 65. 8-9, but the version in L 3576 18-19 n. is to be preferred. There are two small errors to correct in *ZPE* 97 (1993) 100: the date of LIV 3764 is c. 326, and the reference to SB XVI 12596 should read 12695.

13 ἔρισεως (l. ἐρείσεως). Cf. iv 12 n.

14 The *ῥύμη* of the θερμῶν βαλανείων was eliminated from I 43 verso iii 10 (where read πρ[ὸ]ς τῶν θερμῶν βαλανίων, cf. W. Chr. 474) but 4441 now shows that a similarly named street existed nevertheless. For a study in depth of the baths of Oxyrhynchus see J. Krüger, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 109-118. The association with the Eastern Stoa should indicate that the baths that gave their name to the *ῥύμη* in 4441 should be the same as the baths that gave their name to an ἑμφοδόν in PUG I 22.9-10. From the plate I believe that β[α]λ[αν]ιῶν[ι]ο[υ] τ[ο]ῦ in PUG 22.10 should be corrected to β[α]λ[αν]ιῶν.

17 The evidence for the Demetreion and Dionyseion at Oxyrhynchus has recently been collected by J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 3065-6.

## Col. viii

5 I suspect that the character of the document changes here, and that this short line is a heading to a list of building materials needed, cf. cols. ix and following. The limited extent of this section is surprising, in comparison with what has preceded and with the extent of the two following documents. Perhaps it covers repairs to the public buildings only, whereas much of what is listed in cols. iv-vi relates to compulsory repairs to property for which individuals were responsible.

## Col. ix

1 Λικωνίου. Cf. 16 in this column. The name is spelt with one nu in iii 13. The consular year here is AD 315.

3 Ἀμμωριανῶ. Before ν[ι], there is clearly superfluous ink. Damage obscures certainty, but probably the writer made too many loops in writing *ομα*.

7 μολοβουργῶν. The lead workers recur in ix 26. For their activities cf. P. Turner 50-53.

8 For glassworkers in connection with baths cf. XLV 3265.

9 κληδουργός *add. lexx.*

10 κονιατόν. κονιάτονον would also be possible, but it creates difficulties with the lacuna in 9, where an additional occupation would need to be fitted in.

11 We might expect λόγον here, cf. XLV 3265 8, but if so it would have to be very cramped and the interpretation of the following traces remains unsolved.

14-16 For imperial oath formulas at this period see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 202, but there is no precise parallel there for 4441's form.

24 Brick relates to the *οικοδόμοι*, ix 5, cf. xii 20, who are here followed by the *μολιβουργοί* (ix 26) as they are in the prescript (ix 7). Presumably *ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ οἰκοδόμοι* has been lost somewhere higher up; *οἰκοδόμοι* (*σιε*) here in 25 must close their section in some way.

25a The line is inserted into the normal between-lines space. The insertion, beginning in space left in 25, is in a much smaller pale script.

29 Cf. XLV 3265 15.

## Col. x

2 This should be the end of the section for the *μολιβουργοί*, cf. ix 7 and 26, or the start of the section for the *βαλουργοί*, ix 8.

4 At the extreme right margin at this level, one trace presumably from the following column. Some further traces lower down are on a superimposed piece of papyrus and belong to col. xii which was immediately on top of this.

7-8 οἱ ἐν[χρ]ῆ<sup>8</sup>[ζωντες would be tempting, cf. ix 25 and 25a, but I do not think that the lacuna has space for [χρ].

9 The remains here are puzzling. A numeral may be represented, but even so the format is peculiar.

21 ]όλων or ]αλων. Possibly θ]όλων, cf. VI 896 12, XVII 2145?

The *ἐντεός* seems commonly to have been a covered colonnade functioning as a gymnasium, often as here apparently (cf. x 7, 27) and in XLV 3265 14 in association with public baths. Cf. J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* 12 and Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. 186.

The section for the *κονάται* (ix 10) should begin here. Their work required no less than forty kilns (22), each using 17 cwt. (of limestone rubble?), a total of 680 cwt. (23), to be burnt to make the lime(?) for the plaster. The sections on plaster technology in Theophrastus *De Lapidibus* (§§ 64-9) are confused. A broad outline of the process can be followed in XX 2272 13-34, except that there the active constituent of the plaster would seem to be dehydrated gypsum whereas in 4441 I believe it to be lime. For *κονάται*=lime see Theophr. *De Lapidibus* ed. Eichholz, p. 95. Each kiln may have required 50 bales (of chaff, cf. 2272 19-21?) as fuel, a total of 2000 bales, lines 25-6, except that whatever the unclear figure at the end of 26 may be, I cannot read it as 'B. The dung alluded to in 30 may have served as a high temperature fuel for these kilns, cf. Theophr. *De Lap.* § 66. The last commodity, 31-2, supposes 2½ bales per kiln.

24 ἐψίαν, if correct, I take to be the equivalent of ἐψήκιν.

25 The *μώιον* has been variously translated, see the useful article of G. Husson, *CE* 57 (1982) 118-9. If I am right in my supposition that the commodity here is chaff, see x 21 n, 'bale' would seem an appropriate meaning.

The commodity of which much smaller quantities per kiln were required, also measured in *μώια*, x 31, remains unidentified.

27 ἐκρια (i. ἔκρια). Their nature and function here remain obscure. In a text published by A. Świderek, *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 66, *κοπεῶνες* for carrying temple statues in processions are made from *ἔκρια* which were apparently redundant theatre fittings. For further references for *ἔκρια* and cognate words see Orlandos and Traulos op. cit. (iv 12 n.) 133.

28 ξ is exceptionally large and flamboyant. x 3 offers a reduced version of the same form.

30 The reading at the end of the line is not absolutely certain. Unexplained traces may be offset or from an erasure.

32 The papyrus is broken off immediately below this line, but this should be the foot of the column.

## Col. xii

5-6 Aurelius Antonius is well attested as *praeses* of *Aegyptus Herakliā* at this period. See J. Lallemand, *L'Admin. civile* 255 with P. J. Sijpesteijn-K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 193.

8-10 Some of the traces of the right-hand portions of these lines are actually to be found adhering to the surface of col. x, which was the layer of the roll immediately under col. xii (see introd. above).

12-14 The placing of the opening brackets is arbitrary; the lines may have been inset, as below.

15 It was not previously known that there was a *τερόν παλάτιον* at Oxyrhynchus. For a short discussion of these buildings in Egypt see LV 3788 4 n. 3788 itself attests a *palatium* at Memphis for the first time.

## Col. xiii

I cannot exclude the possibility that these lines represent the ends of lines of col. xii (xiii 4=xii 16, xiii 6-7=xii 19-20), but I see no way to confirm it. A kollesis must have intervened, given the widths involved, so excluding fibre comparison.

## Col. xiv

5 The space seems inadequate to allow *ἐξ μ[ήκους πη]χ(ῶν) ιγ'* (*πηχῶν* abbreviated *πηχ*). Alternatively, *εἰς* [ might be possible, cf. 9, but what follows would be problematical, and we would then expect *ἐκ* before *πλάτ[ου]*.

R. A. COLES

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.*

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#### HADRIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός  
**4433** 22–24 (year 15?)

#### ANTONINUS PIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀντωνίνος ὁ κύριος **4434** 12–14 (year 17)

#### SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

Σεούηρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοὶ **4435** 1  
 (year 8)  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεούηρος  
 Ἐδεσβῆς Περγίναξ Σεβαστός Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβηνικός

Παρθικός Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ  
 Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Ἐδεσβῆς Σεβαστός  
**4435** 17–18  
 θεοὶ Σεούηρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος **4437** 1

#### DECIUS

Μέσσιος **4438** 5

#### VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίνιος  
 Ουαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Ουαλεριανὸς  
 Γαλλικὸς Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι Ἐδεσβεῖς Ἐδνυχεῖς

καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Κορνῆλιος Καλωνίος  
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#### CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

οἱ κύριοι . . . ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Λικίνιος  
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 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Λικίνιος Σεβαστοὶ  
**4441** iii 13 (year 10 and 8)

οἱ δεσπῆται ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Λικίνιος  
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\* Ἄπικ h. of Tateichis and f. of Taysorapis **4433** 5

Ἀπολλοφάνης *see* Ἀδρήλιος Ἀπολλοφάνης

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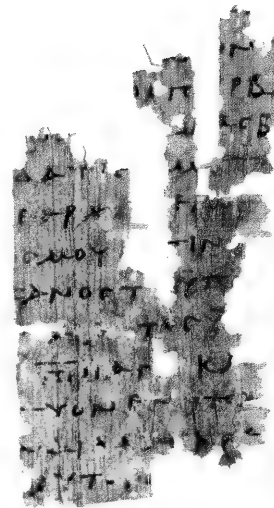
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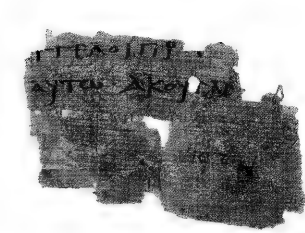
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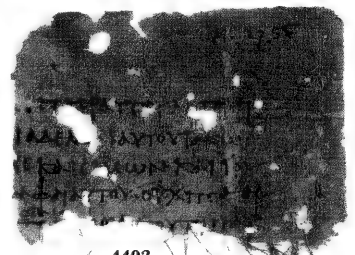
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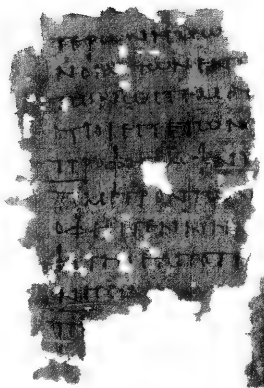
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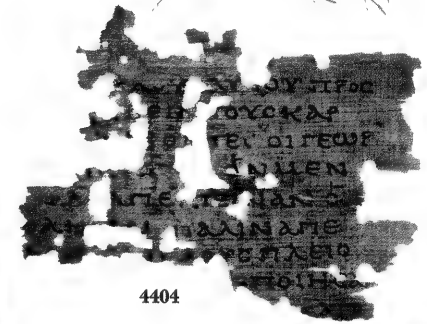
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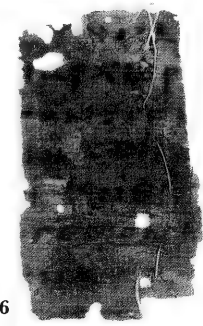
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4405 + 2683



4404



4406

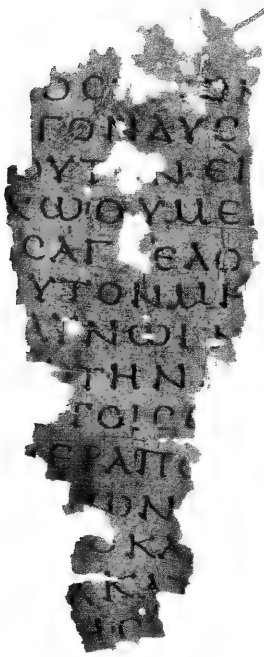








fr.1



fr.2



fr.3



fr.4



fr.5



fr.6

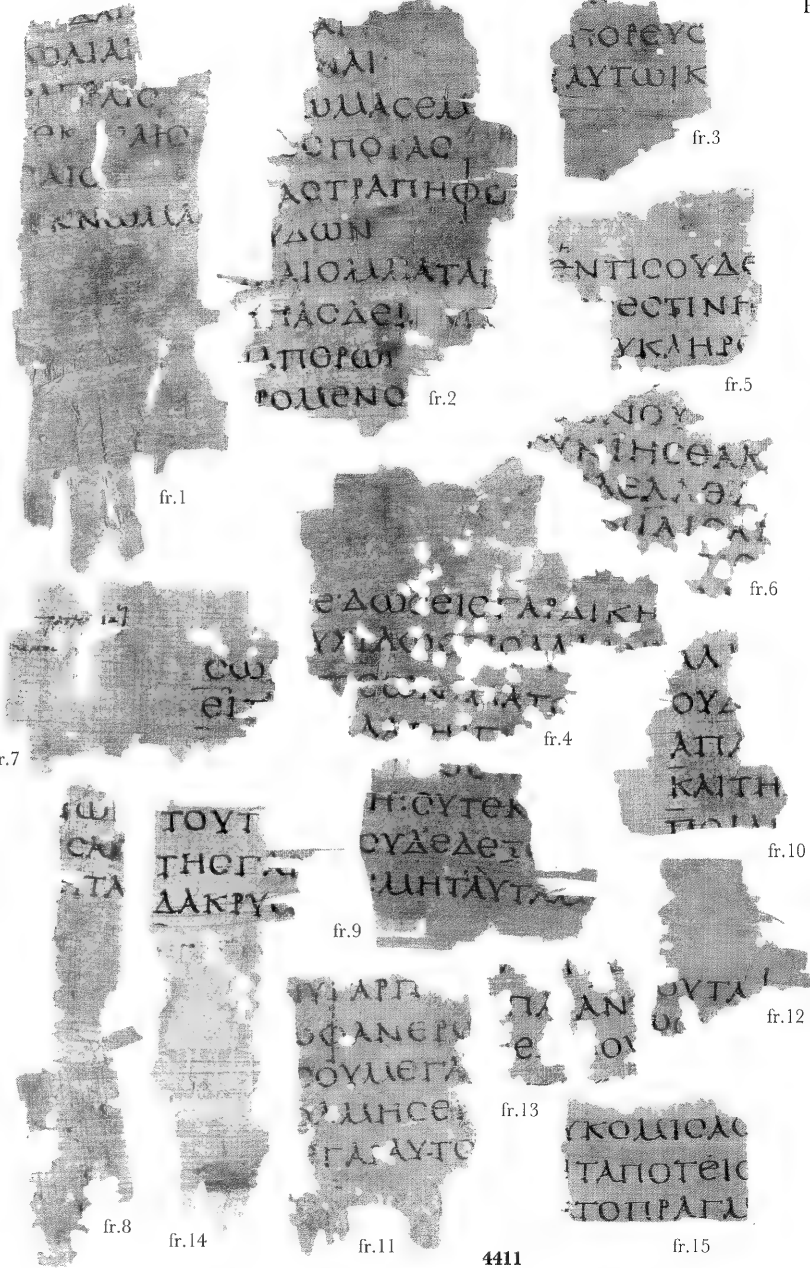


fr.7



fr.8





fr.1  
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 ΘΕΡΑ  
 ΑΙΟ  
 ΚΝΩΜΑ

fr.2  
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 ΔΟΤΡΑΠΗΦ  
 ΚΩΝ  
 ΔΙΟΜΑΤΑ  
 ΗΑΣΔΕΙ  
 ΑΠΟΡΩ  
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fr.3  
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 ΑΥΤΩΙΚ

fr.5  
 ΑΝΤΙΣΟΥΔΕ  
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fr.6  
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fr.4  
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 ΑΥΝΗΤ

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fr.9  
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fr.8  
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fr.14  
 (Fragment with illegible text)

fr.11  
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 ΕΓΑΥΤΟ

fr.12  
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 ΟΥΤΑ  
 ΟΙ

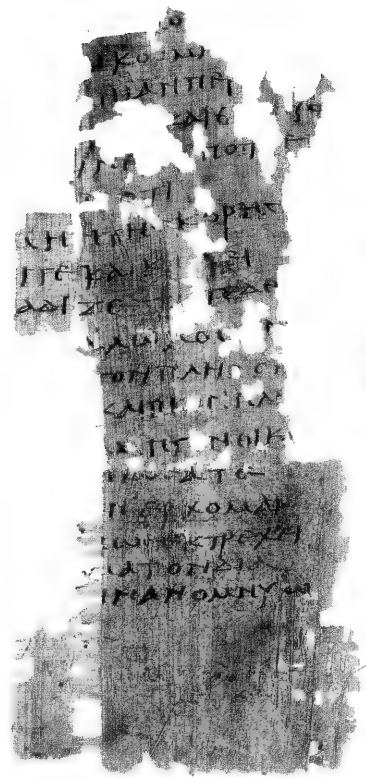
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 ΤΟΠΡΑΓ











fr.1

4412



fr.2



fr.3



fr.4



fr.5



fr.6



fr.7



fr.8



fr.9



4426



fr.1

fr.2

4414

frr.3 17

ΠΑΡΕΙΤΑΝ  
 ΔΙΧΕΤΙΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΑΙΝ ΜΑΕΡΟΙΤ  
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 ΚΕΙΣΙΧΕΙΚΕ ΔΕ  
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 ΕΙΝΟΑΛΛΟΙΜΟΝΑΣΑ  
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 ΕΣΥΤΕΙΝΑΔΑ

ΟΤΥΜΑΤΟ  
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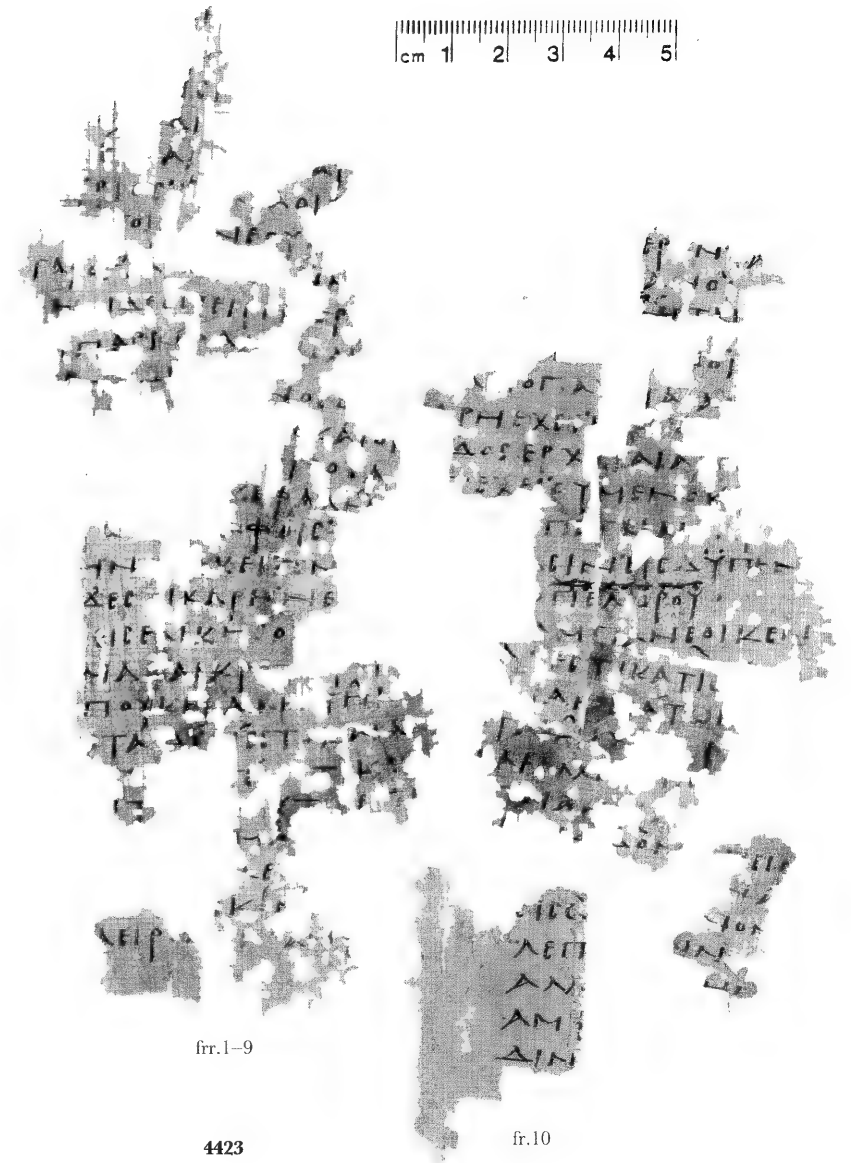
4427

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 ΒΟΒΟΡΟΖΗΑΝΔΕ  
 ΖΕΙΟΙΝΗΝΤΕ  
 ΔΕΟΟΤΙΒΑ  
 ΕΥΖΕΝΟΛΑ

4424



4414 fr. 18



fr. 1-9

4423

fr. 10











ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙΣ ΤΩ ΟΠΗΓΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΝΑ...  
ΑΝΑΜΑΡΤΗΤΟΣ

ΤΕΧΝΟΝΩΝΗ ΕΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΘΑΥΡΟΝ  
ΜΗΤ ΟΡΗΤΟΣ

ΟΝΝΩΦΡΙΣΤΑΝ ΕΡΜΗΤΗΝ

ΧΡΟΝΟΘΕΤΙΑΣ

ΡΟΥΛΛΑΝΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΧΑΙΡΟΝ  
ΜΗΤ ΟΡΗΤΟΣ

ΔΙΟΝΤΩ ΜΑΧΑΡΑΤΟΝ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ  
ΜΗΤ ΟΡΗΤΟΣ

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ΘΩΝΑΝΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ  
ΑΝΩΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΟΝ ΧΙΟΝ  
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ΟΡΗΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ

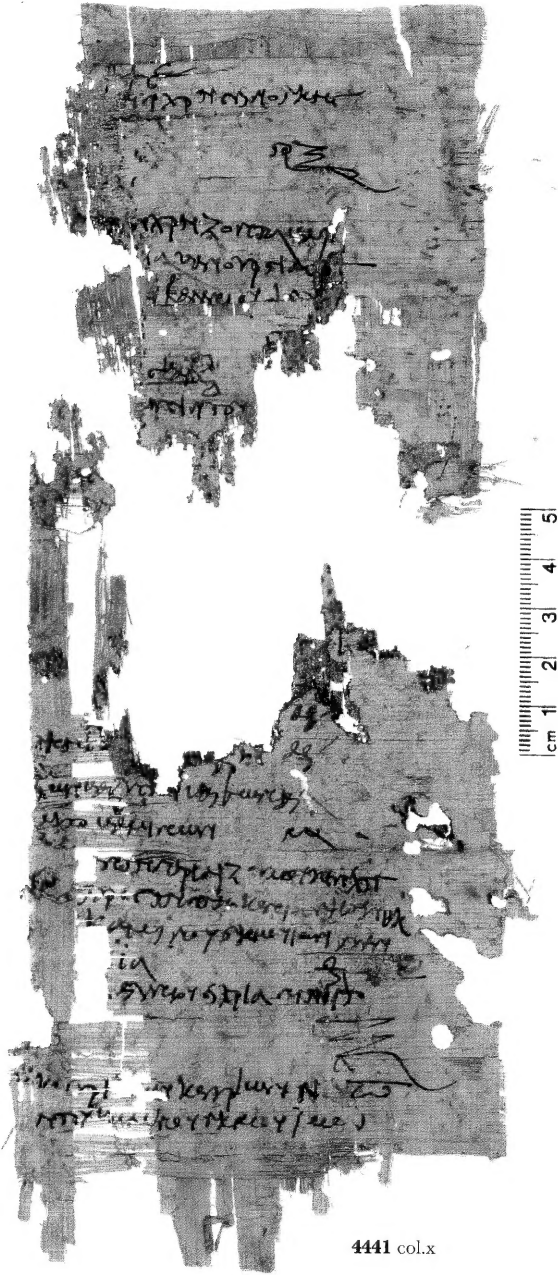
ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ

ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗΤΟΝ  
ΟΡΗΤΟΝ



*[Faded and mostly illegible handwritten text, likely in a cursive script, covering the majority of the page. The text is arranged in several columns and appears to be a list or a series of entries.]*





4441 col.x